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NOMINA AGENTIS IN OLD ENGLISH

PART 1.

INTRODUCTION.
NOMINA AGENTIS WITH L-SUFFIX.
NOMINA AGENTIS IN -END,
WITH AN EXCURSUS ON THE FLEXION OF
SUBSTANTIVAL PRESENT PARTICIPLES.

BY

KARL KÄRRE.

Preface.

The present work is the outcome of my researches into the subject of the occurrence and productivity of agential suffixes in Old English. It had been my original intention to deal with the subject on broader lines and include all agent-forming suffixes, but, as my investigations proceeded, it became clear that, if I worked on such a wide basis, the dimensions of the work would far exceed anything I had planned, for which reason I finally decided to confine myself to the two suffixes -l- and -end. I hope, however, to give the complete results of my investigations in a later publication.

Owing to the mass of material which has had to be examined, to the large number of works which have had to be consulted, and to the trying nature of the proof-reading, it is inevitable that some inaccuracies and inadvertencies have crept into the work, especially of a typographical nature; for these I beg the indulgence of the reader.

It remains for me to proffer my very hearty thanks to all those from whom I have received help and encouragement during the progress of my labours. In the first place, my grateful acknowledgements are due to Professor Erik Björkman, my esteemed teacher, who, in his public lectures, gave the indications which led to my choice of subject. He has also, with the greatest kindness and obliging readiness, given me the benefit of his experience and erudition, in the advice and stimulating suggestion he has afforded me.

I also wish to tender my expression of grateful thanks to Professor Axel Erdmann, late professor of English at Uppsala University, under whose guidance I first commenced the study of English, and to Professor K. F. Sundén, now of the University of Gothenburg, who was my first teacher in Old English and Primitive Teutonic.

Table of Contents.

Introduction.

I.

Definition and Delimitation of the Subject.

A.

The nomina agentis in O. E. have not yet been the subject of any special investigation, if we except Sütterlin's work of 1887, which deals with the agent-formations of all Teutonic languages. Sütterlin's book, moreover, for all its great merits (to a certain extent it was a pioneer work) suffered from certain deficiencies — pointed out more or less forcibly by all his reviewers[1] — the gravest of which was that the work was not the »Geschichte« promised by its title: the productivity of the different agent-forming suffixes in the different Teutonic dialects was not clearly investigated.[2]

A number of the O. E. nom. ag. were considered by Best in his Strassburg dissertation of 1905, entitled "Die persönlichen Konkreta des Altenglischen"; a few were also dealt with by Klump (1908) in his treatise on "Die altenglischen Handwerkernamen". The last-mentioned work, however, as will be found, bears scarcely at all upon the part of my treatise now published, though it will be of considerable value, especially when I reach the treatment of nom. ag. formed by means of the suff. *-ere*. As regards Best's book, he gives no more than an enumeration of the personal concretes collected from the O. E. dictionaries and arranged according to their type of form-

[1] Kluge, Lit. bl. 1888 (2) p. 49 ff.; Kögel, Lit. Cbl. 1888 (38) 1314 f.; Bartsch, Germania 33, 117; Burg, Dt. Ltz. 33, 464.

[2] Also the reliability of his material was questioned. Burg pronounces as his "wohlerwogenes Urteil, dass nur der wird all diese Beispielsammlungen zu seinem Heile benutzen, der sie auf Schritt und Tritt zu kontrollieren bereit ist".

ation, but he offers no discussion whatever of his material, from
any point of view.[1] Since he deals with *personal concretes* in
general, his subject, moreover, is not identical with the present
one.

Hence it has seemed desirable that a further contribution
should now be made to the study of O. E. word-formation in this
particular department, especially as English philologists are still
waiting for a work corresponding to the German "WILMANNS", and
it is indispensable for the author of such a work to have at his
disposal preliminary researches dealing with the different word-
groups.

§ 2.
*Object of
investiga-
tion.*

Being a special investigation into the O. E. nom. ag., my work
stands in the same relation to that of SÜTTERLIN as do the resear-
ches of FALK and HELLQUIST on O. N. nom. ag. to the same
work. The object of my researches has been to try to produce
*a monograph, as exhaustive and reliable as possible in point of
material, of the nom. ag. in O. E., with particular regard to the
productivity of the different types of formation,* or perhaps rather
— in view of the unfinished character of my work as it is now
published — *monographs on the different agent-forming suf-
fixes as forming ag.-n., with special attention to their produc-
tivity.* But also from other points of view, an investigation into
this word-group has seemed desirable. Thus, everybody knows to
what degree stylistic differences prevail among these words, espe-
cially differences between the vocabulary of prose and that of
poetry. It is, then, of interest to find out what holds good for the
separate words and still more for the different suffixes: if words
of a certain type are, for instance, especially favoured by the
Anglo-Saxon poets. Then it is possible, and even *a priori* prob-
able, that the stock of words — as regards individual words and
types of formation — to be found about the end of the 11th
century is somewhat different from that which we meet with at the
beginning of the 8th century, though, on account of the relative
scarcity and the nature of the texts (the majority of them being
poetry during the former, and prose during the latter, part of the
period), it is attended with great difficulties to distinguish chrono-
logical from stylistic differences, among other things, or positively
to prove the existence of such chronological differences. Further, it

[1] Cp. also POGATSCHER, Dt. Ltz. 1906, 1060.

may be of interest to ascertain how far certain words are used only as last elements of cpp., or also as independent words; and perhaps also the question of gender can afford some points of interest. And last, but not least, it is desirable that an investigation should be made of these words from the point of view of sense. The traditional term, nomina agentis, is a very comprehensive one and includes types of words of rather varied semological functions. "Im Interesse der hier annoch erforderlichen Untersuchungen hat man für das Semasiologische zunächst eine vollständigere und feiner ausgebildete Terminologie zu schaffen. Die wenigen allgemeinen Termini wie Nomen actionis, Nomen agentis, Deminutivum u. dgl. reichen bei weitem nicht aus."[1] I do not consider myself capable of solving the difficult terminological question (or rather questions), nor the still more intricate problem of settling definitely whether there are in O. E. morphological categories corresponding to the semological ones, i. e. whether, and to what extent, certain agent-forming suffixes appear in O. E. with a more or less specialized semological function. Certainly, the first investigator who attempts such a classification of the stock of O. E. ag.-n. cannot expect to arrive at final and conclusive results, yet I will not shirk my task of making a modest attempt at tracing, at least in outline, this semology of O. E. nom. ag.

Now, of course, on account of the fragmentary character of the part of my treatise here offered to the public, many questions attached to this problem have as yet only been touched upon. I had not foreseen that my study would assume such dimensions, and so I have, for many reasons, been obliged to divide the work — a fact which I very much regret — and to publish here only my researches on two agent-forming suffixes, viz. prim. Teut. -(i)lo and O. E. -end. The material is collected also for the other suffixes and is only waiting for arrangement and treatment, a task which I propose to undertake as soon as time and opportunity allow. In a concluding chapter, I intend to make a comparative study of the use of different modes of agent-formation with particular regard to "double forms", i. e. different ag.-n. from the same verb, formed by means of different suffixes, and to summarize the results arrived at.

[1] BRUGMANN, Grdr. 2: 1, § 468.

The methods employed for the attainment of my object will
be fairly clear. Of course, it has not been sufficient to rely only
on the existing lexicographical resources, which are in fact, as is well
known, by no means all that could be desired. Even to obtain com-
paratively exhaustive and reliable material, it has been necessary to
turn to the O. E. literature directly, and still more so in order to in-
dicate possible differences between the words of this semological
group, as regards sense, style, chronology, etc. I have therefore
felt obliged to go through the whole bulk of O. E. literature, as far as
it is printed in accessible editions, and, of course, the dictionaries
have been consulted and excerpted, too. That a considerable num-
ber of records will have escaped my attention, in spite of every
care, is only to be expected; yet I trust that the number of such
involuntary omissions will not be so great, nor the words omitted
so important, as to influence appreciably the results arrived at.

In contrast to the investigations hitherto made in the province
of O. E. word-formation, the present researches thus afford a collec-
tion of material with quotation of the records in question. In this re-
spect, I have taken as models such researches in O. E. philology as
are represented by such names as Hoops, Jordan, Klump, and others,
though for quite usual words I do not give all the records in exi-
stence, but only try to indicate the nature and frequency of their
occurrence. (For many of the words in question the records are,
moreover, already given in other works, in which case I generally
content myself with instances and a reference to the author by
whom they are given, unless the words are made the subject of
discussion from a point of view for which their quotation is ne-
cessary; then, for practical reasons, they are cited over again. If
a word that does not present any etymological difficulties occurs
in different forms according to dialects, those different forms are
not always kept strictly apart).

The working-system indicated will be found, I think, to be
correct in principle. During the course of my work, it has become
more and more clear to me that any study on word-formation must
carefully penetrate the character and import of each separate word,
which must, in most cases, be viewed in its context: grammar and
dictionary must work together.[1]

[1] Cp. also Brugmann II. 1, p. 595.

There have been two ways open to me in investigating the subject: to undertake either a comprehensive study of the O. E. group of nom. ag., or a detailed study of the suffixes and the words. It will appear from the above that I have decided upon the latter method. Sütterlin's work already gives a comprehensive view of the formations in question, and it has seemed to me, at the present stage, to be the only correct and profitable course to enter more closely into the details of the words and types. The comprehensive view of, and wider outlook on, the subject will not, I hope, need to be lost on that account and must not be lost either, since my chief aim is, as has already been pointed out, to estimate the productivity of the suffixes, to follow the suffixes in their internal contests for supremacy during the first four centuries of the history of the English language, and to trace, if — or as far as — possible, the causes that have occasioned a decline in the use of some modes of word-formation and the final victory of others.

For a few other questions connected with those just discussed, see below.

B.

The term nom. ag. has been used with very different meanings by different authors. In the following pages only such definitions as have been set up and adopted in works of particular interest to us are taken into consideration.

§ 4.
Definitions of nom. ag.

Zimmer, p. 27, includes in the term "die Nominalthemen, welche eine Person oder Sache ausdrücken, durch welche der Begriff der Wurzel activisch, passivisch oder reflexiv vollzogen wird" and uses the term, as he himself says "in ausgedehntem sinne". Both adj. and sb. can be nom. ag., and like Scherer, he even regards all sb. as originally substantivized adj., though, for practical reasons, he treats of them separately and, e. g., for his *o*-stems, uses the following system: 1) sb. nom. ag. masc. 2) sb. nom. ag. neutr. 3) adj. nom. ag.

Sütterlin gives no definition and suggests no definite delimitation of his subject. I shall return to this on p. 7.

Falk, p. 3, defines nom. ag. in the following way: "Das nom. ag. bezeichnet adj.-isch oder sb.-isch das Subjekt, das die durch die Wurzel ausgedrückte Tätigkeit ausübt, von dem die Tätigkeit ihren Ausgangspunkt nimmt und das als Ursache derselben er-

scheint. Der Begriff der Wurzel kann transitiv oder intransitiv,
activisch (reflexivisch) oder passivisch, præsentisch oder perfectisch
gefasst werden". And further down, ib.: "Nom. ag. bezeichnet
den Träger der Handlung, nämlich a) den Ausführer der Handlung
b) den Empfänger der Handlung c) das Mittel der Handlung".

Before settling the range of the use of the term in this work,
I may be allowed to mention still another definition, viz. NOREEN's,
whose exposition of the question has cleared it to me very much,
and with whose opinions on this semological group I essentially
agree.

NOREEN[1], who treats of this category from the point of view
of descriptive Modern Swedish semology, has a terminology of
his own, and we must therefore consider his system as a whole.
As his chief group we find *concrete nomina gerentis* (*"gerentiala
konkreter"*) denoting the bearer of an idea, i. e. the person or
thing regarded as performing a certain action, as being in a cer-
tain condition, as characterized by a certain quality etc., e. g. (to
take English examples) *torturer, applicant, criminal, the little one*[2].

Gerent-nouns fall into two groups, according as the idea re-
presented by the gerent is some sort of *activity*, or a *quality*. In
the former case, we have to do with *concrete nomina actionis*
(*"aktionella konkreter"*), e. g. *torturer;* in the latter case, with
concr. nom. virtutis ("virtuella konkreter"), e. g. *criminal.*

Actional concretes, in their turn, are divided into *nom. agen-
tis* (*"agentiala konkreter"*), denoting the representative of a tem-
porary activity, e. g. *purchaser, reader, deliverer,* (Laura, his) *li-
beratress, laudator, defendant,* (the) *reviewer* (of his book), and
nom. actoris (*"aktorala konkreter"*), denoting the representative of
a more regular, often even professional exersising of a certain ac-
tivity, e. g. *judge, barber, lamp-lighter.* 'one whose business it is to
light the street-lamps', (the literary) *reviewer* (of the Times), *cri-
tic, grasshopper* (animal), *laundress, lawyer, prosaist, phonetician,
Latinist,* 'a Latin scholar'.

Concrete nom. virtutis are either *characterizing,* denoting
the representative of a characteristic quality, e. g. *the little* on

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[1] Vårt språk, V. 3. p. 331 ff.

[2] The group is coordinated with *concrete nomina instrumenti* and *concr.
nom. acti,* along with which it constitutes the grammatical category called, by
NOREEN, *actus.* Concr. nom. ger. have an abstract correspondence which he
calls *gerundium (gerund).* So, e. g., *applicant* is the gerent corresponding to
the gerund *application; criminal* the gerent to the gerund *criminality.*

good one, a German, foreigner, favourite, millionaire, or *tendency-denoting ("tendentiella konkreter"),* which express the representative of a more or less conspicuous tendency (opinion, sympathies, manner, etc.), e. g. *Socialist, Mohammedan, Liberationist* ('one who sympathizes with the aim of the Liberation Society'), *Republican, realist, drunkard, lapling* ('one who loves to lie on a lady's lap').

NOREEN's system, consequently, is as follows: *Concrete nomina gerentis* (cp. *nom. instrumenti* and *acti*).

    A.   *Concrete nom. actionis (actional concretes)*
        1) *nom. agentis :* reader
        2) *nom. actoris :* lamp-lighter
    B.   *Concrete nom. virtutis*
        1) *characterizing :* foreigner
        2) *tendency-denoting :* Socialist.

What, then, is the relation between these different definitions of the term, or rather, in what relation do the definitions of the first three scholars stand to NOREEN's system?

§ 5.
Compari-sons between and remarks on the pre-vious defini-tions.

As regards ZIMMER, his ag.-n. will, on the whole, be equivalent to NOREEN's head-group, i. e. nom. ger. Then there are instances in ZIMMER's material that should rather be interpreted as nomina acti, quite a different group denoting the result of an action, but that has probably not been his intention, cp. "vollzogen *wird*". In such an "ausgedehntem sinne", however, the term is scarcely used nowadays, and the point does not call for any great attention.

In SÜTTERLIN's book no definition is given, and it is also rather difficult to identify the group of words treated by him with any definite semological group, and so his neglect to define his subject and to put the problem clearly has not failed to entail unfortunate consequences. The absence of such words as the formations in -*en* (ðēoden, dryhten), the omission of the *substantivized adj.* — it is not even mentioned — and the absence of *many concr. nom. virtutis of the n-stems* would seem to show that he had only regarded words with verbal sense-basis, i. e., a semological group corresponding, on the whole, to NOREEN's concr. nom. actionis. But then there are to be found in his material of ag.-n. such words as *fruma*[1], and all those desubstantive formations of the weak stems of the type of *ʒeðofta*, and so also the words

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[1] Wrongly classified as a *jan*-stem by him.

formed with the suff.-*inʒo*; these last words he does not treat in
detail, it is true; but that is only, as he expressly states on p. 18,
because "dieses stamenbildungsmittel schon ausführlich behandelt
worden ist". Now, next to the means of substantivizing the adj.
simply by using it independently, generally with weak flexion, the
suff.-*(l)inʒ* is the chief means in O. E. of forming what Noreen
calls concr. nom. virtutis, e. g. *dēorling, dȳrling : dēor*. Yet it ap-
pears from certain expressions in his work as if he seemed to re-
gard as nom. ag., in the proper sense of the word, only words de-
noting the performer of an *action*, i. e., words with verbal sense-basis.

Falk's definition, which is very clearly conceived and put, is
narrower then Zimmer's, insofar as a *Handlung* is always necessary
to constitute an ag.-n., and his nom. ag. probably have the same
range as the ag.-n. are meant to have in Sütterlin's work, and
will correspond, on the whole, to Noreen's actional concretes.
There are exceptional groups, however, viz., the words denoting
'den Empfänger der Handlung' and 'das Mittel der Handlung'.
The last words are treated separately by Noreen as 'nom. instru-
menti', though he admits, of course, the difficulty of always keep-
ing them apart. As for the other group of words denoting 'den
Empfänger der Handlung', the matter is a little more difficult. But
certainly Noreen will not admit among his actional concretes such
words whose sense in relation to the verb is passive. There may
be cases, theoretically speaking, when it is difficult to draw the
limit between words denoting persons (or things) being in a cer-
tain condition and words denoting the object of an activity (den
Empfänger der Handlung), but that distinction certainly must be
maintained. I am decidedly against Falk, when he includes these
words in his nom. ag. To take an example, to indicate as an ag.-n.
the O. E. *wræcca*, 'exile', — a word which rather means 'a persecu-
ted person', not 'a persecutor, a pursuer', — is, in my opinion, to
adopt a terminology that is too contrary to the real sense of the term
ag.-n. to be permissible. If an author desires to include such words
as these in his "nom. ag." — which, of course, he is at liberty to do
and which the relationship between the words, semologically and
often also morphologically, may sometimes justify — he certainly
had better try to find a more appropriate term, whether he uses
"nom. ger." or another term which he may think better. But, at
any rate, it is a necessity that a terminological distinction should
be made between words which, for all their points of similarity,

exhibit such evident semological differences as, e. g., O. E. *wrǣcca* and O. E. *ēhtere* (*ēhtend*), or, to take examples from N. E., where these two categories have now got specific means of expression, as N. E. *lessor, legator, granter, examiner, mortgagor*, on the one hand, and *lessee, legatee, grantee, examinee, mortgagee* on the other[1].

In the present work, the words dealt with are not, however, "nom. gerentis". The group which I call nom. ag., and of which I am here going to treat, is the same as Noreen's actional concretes and includes, consequently, both the "nom. ag." and "nom. actoris" of his terminology[2]. The words belonging here form, in my opinion, a clearly marked class, semologically and — as regards O. E. at least. — also morphologically, so much so as to allow of particular treatment, separate from that of words of other semological categories. Very often I shall be obliged to treat of words that are not nom. ag., but then it will always be specifically stated that I do not regard them as such. Such a proceeding, however, has proved necessary, since I start from morphological (not semological) groups.

Nom. ag., consequently, are *concrete nouns* (or adj.) *that designate a person or thing as the performer of an action or as being in a certain condition*, which action or condition is implied in the word from which the ag.-n. in question is derived; or, to put it in another way, *concrete nouns* (or adj.) *that express the active representative of an action or a condition.* It is essential that they should express the performer of an *action*, not the bearer of a *quality*, that the sense underlying the word — its sense-basis, so to speak — should be *verbal* and actively verbal, not *adjectival*.

That there are adj. that are of agential nature, adjectival nom. ag. consequently, is, I think, a matter of general agreement. In contrast to Zimmer and Falk, however, — Sütterlin treats of adj. in -*ol* — I have entirely omitted these in my investigation. From an O. E. point of view, the adjectival and substantival nom.

§ 6.

Nom. ag. in the present work.

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[1] Cp. Sweet, NEGr., p. 479. — Of course I do not mean to say that O. E. *wrǣcca* and *ēhtere* form an exact O. E. parallel to the N. E. pairs mentioned; yet the sense of the desubstantive *wrǣcca* is passive in relation to the action implied in the primitive word.

[2] As regards the terminological question and possible sub-divisions, see p. 12 ff.

ag. are of quite different formation, and there is no need to treat
them together. Moreover, all O. E. adj. have recently been the
subject af an investigation[1], and it may be enough here to refer
to that work. In concession to popular terminology, I have ven-
tured, however, without fear of a misunderstanding, to appropriate
the title of nom. ag. for the substantival formations belonging here,
without any restrictive addition, e. g., of 'substantival'.

There is a slight difficulty in a few cases in drawing the limit
between sb. and adj. Adj. used substantively are, of course, not
dealt with. But sometimes a word can be regarded either as a
substantivized adj. or as a clear subst. formed directly from the
verb, e. g., ðearfa. Such cases, when occurring among the dif-
ferent suffixes, will be noticed, but they will not be classified as
substantival nom. ag. Generally the sense-basis of such words
is adjectival.

It is clear from the preceding that I do not include the nom.
instrumenti in my group. Cp. what is said on this point in con-
nection with the -(i)lo-suff on p. 42 f.

§ 7.   As an essential feature of an ag.-n. we have just claimed
Deverbative that it always denotes the performer of an *action*, that its sense-
and desub- basis is *verbal*. It must, however, be noticed, as was also clear
stantive
nom. ag. from the above examples (see § 4), that the action need not neces-
sarily be directly expressed by the primitive word from which it
is derived. Words in the case of which such is true certainly
are nom. ag , in the strictest sense of the term, e. g., *bindere* 'one
who binds', *rynel* 'one who runs', *(man)-slaga* 'one who kills'.
The primitive word here is always a verb. and from the point of
view of morphology such words are *deverbative ag.-n.* (often also
called primary). But besides these words, there are also others
closely connected with them (morphologically and semologically),
where the primitive word is a *subst.*, which does not express any
action at all. But the *desubstantive formations* in question —
not denominative, since derivations from adj. constitute "nom.
virtutis" — nevertheless suggest the performer of an action, viz.
the performer of that very action which consists in, is performed
by means of, aims at, or in any way whatever is connected with,
the idea expressed by the primitive word. The sense-relation be-

[1] Schön, Die Bildung des adj. im Ae.

tween the activity (which is only conceived, not expressed) and the sb. from which the nom. ag. in question is derived may thus be of a most varied character, and there is no linguistic means of expression for it, any more than there is, e. g., for the innumerable sense-relations in which the parts of a compound sb. stand to each other. There is nothing in Goth *haúrnja* which denotes its sense of 'one who *plays* on the horn'; from a morphological point of view, it might just as well mean 'one who *manufactures* a horn', just as *kasja* means 'one who *makes* pots, a potter'. But the quality of the word of expressing the performer of an action, of being, consequently, a nom. ag. is indisputable. Then, it expresses the performer of the action in quite the same way as would a cp. sb. which had *haúrn* (*kas* etc.) for its first member and as second member had the ag.-n. of the verb expressing the action in question. Goth. *fiskja* — I leave out of consideration its probably secondary association with *fiskôn* — means exactly the same thing as a word **fiska-numja*, or perhaps rather **fiska-nuta* (cp. *nuta*), or something of the sort, would have done, cp. *arbja* and *arbi-numja*, both with the sense of 'one who inherits, an heir'.

It has thus proved unavoidable to include certain desubstantive derivatives among nom. ag., which fact has, however, occasioned an increase in the difficulties of delimiting the group. For, while the deverbative derivatives of this type, with only a few exceptions, are nom. ag., and the adjectival derivatives are "nom. virtutis", the desubstantive formations distribute themselves in both of these semological groups. The classification of such words becomes an altogether semological question, for which it is decisive if the sense of the word is actively verbal, on the one hand, or adjectival or passively verbal, on the other.

Practically, in the part of my treatise so far worked out, I have not had much to do with desubstantive nom. ag., but even now I think I can state that there are not in O. E. any living suffixes with the specific function of forming agential nouns from sb. Desubstantive nom. ag. occur, and even a fairly large number of them, in a few suffixes which are prevailingly used for forming deverbative ag.-n., esp. -*a(n)* and -*ere*, and then in a few isolated cases, and will, of course, be treated of in their proper places. Often, as is well known, suffixes pass over from forming desubstantive ag.-n. to forming deverbative, there existing or arising cases where the derived word permits of a double interpre-

tation : as a formation from a subst. or as a formation from a verb generally derived from that very sb (cp. above Goth. *fiskja*). With such words as starting-points for new formations made from verbs, a shifting in the use of the suffix can be brought about.

§ 8.
Termino-logy.

Thus, though my group of nom. ag. — in principle at least — coincides with Noreen's actional concretes, yet I have preferred not to adopt his terminology. In the first place, the old term of "nom. ag." is certainly so universally established and also so appropriate for this semological group — more or less clearly apprehended and defined, it is true — but at any rate aimed at by most scholars, that I doubt whether it will be possible to carry through the application of this term to only one of Noreen's two sub-divisions of the group, especially as these sub-divisions are so nearly allied to each other as to pass imperceptibly over into each other; the difference between them, though important from many points of view, is too unessential. And then, I am a little uncertain as to the suitability of Noreen's term. As a parallel to actional abstracts, on the one hand, and concrete nom. virtutis, on the other, it is certainly very appropriate, but one does not always want to fix these contrasts in one's mind. It seems to me to be most convenient to employ a term that is subsumed directly under *subst.* (or *noun*), not under *concrete subst. (nouns)*. And, from that point of view, the traditional terms of *agential nouns = nom. agentis* will be quite suitable for this category, and *actional nouns = nom. actionis*, for the corresponding abstract words.

§ 9.
Some gene-ral remarks on the semo-logy of ag.-n.

Then, however, it will be necessary to look for other terms for possible sub-divisions of the group than those used by Noreen, "nom. ag." and "nom. actoris".

Since time immemorial the nom. ag. of I. E. languages have fallen into two groups, according as the ag.-n. denotes an occa-sional performer of an action or a more habitual performer of an action.[1] Of course, there might be set up many more different groups, as there are indeed a great number of various relations between the nom. ag. and the word from which it is derived. But the difference in sense between those two categories is much more

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[1] Noreen, ibid., p. 333, with quotation from Brugmann, K. vgl. Gr. 333.

marked than that between other semological groups of ag.-n., and certainly is great enough to claim different terminological expressions.[1]

Now it seems to me that, by the side of this distinction — besides the more temporary (occasional) or permanent character of the action performed, in relation to its performer — there is also another distinction between these two groups that is essential to the division in question, viz. the *more or less markedly verbal* or the *more or less markedly appellative* character of the ag.-n. Of course, all ag. -n are appellatives as being sb., and the sensebasis of all is verbal, or they would be "nom. virtutis", but there is a *relative difference* in this respect, so that some retain more of the verbal character than others, a difference which cannot be ignored on account of its purely relative character, since it will not be possible to find any absolute difference between the groups, according to which they could be classified without difficulty. In many of the words of the former kind, the appellative character is so slightly developed that the ag. -n, along with the verb of the clause, has the character of a periphrastic construction, and means nothing more than a tense-form of the verb from which the nom. ag. is derived would have done. So, e. g., *he wæs andetta* means little more than *he andette, he wæs cwylmend ðæs mannes*, than *he cwylmde ðone mann*. I think this distinction will tally with Noreen's, as well as with that of Brugmann, who characterizes the two kinds of ag.-n. as *zeitlich begrenzte* (= Noreen's nom. ag.) and *dauernde* (= Noreen's nom. act.), the more appella-

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[1] It might seem, at first sight, to be rather an unimportant distinction that is set up here, and one of small practical consequence. Such a view, however, is wrong. There is no knowing *a priori* whether this semological difference has not in a certain dialect called a morphological difference into existence as well, so that a certain suffix can be shown to prefer, at least, one shade of meaning to the other, is used exclusively or chiefly to form one of the two groups. As an example of the importance of a distinction in this respect, also from a wider point of view, I may recall the passage in PBB 29. p. 327 f., where Sievers shows the impossibility of an interpretation of Trautmann's, in Bonner Beitr. z. Angl. II. 139. of Beow. 241, just by a reference to the fact that one of the words of the sentence, viz. *endesǣta*, like other cpp. with *-sǣta*, is only what Noreen calls a nom. actoris, denotes a person who is "always" sitting in certain place. Thus it is often of interest to state the exact meaning of a separate word, and, of course, it is of still greater interest to state what sense is preferably associated with a certain suffix, if a particular sense-shade should happen to be associated with it.

tive character of some words just being a consequence of the loss of any sense of tense that they have sustained. An 'onlooker' is only *one looking on* on a certain occasion, and as long as he is looking on; whereas a *shoe-maker* is and remains a shoe-maker, even when leaving for a while his usual work to cultivate his little field; and a *worker* (= workman) is a worker, even when enjoying his after-dinner nap. The former nom. ag. is 'zeitlich begrenzt', or expresses the performer of a temporary action, the latter is 'dauernd', or expresses the performer of a more lasting action. But, at the same time, and as a consequence of this, the verbal sense is much greater in the first word than in the last two words; words of the former type retain more of the character of the verb of *stating, telling, asserting* that a person (or thing) appears on an occasion as the performer of an action; words of the latter type only *describe, name, denominate* a person (or thing) from a certain action (function), an action which he (it) may perform professionally *(shoe-maker)*, or which may be characteristic of him (it) *(grass-hopper)*, or of which he (it) may be an habitual representative in a more general and vague way (*Saviour*, O. E. *frumspreeend, ærendwreca*). The action in question may very well have been performed only once, on one occasion, e. g., O. E. *Jūdas, Cristes belæwend*, if only the person (or thing) is denominated from it.

In accordance with the apprehension of the different sense-character of nom. ag. here vindicated, I have chosen for the two semological categories two terms which do not denote in themselves, it is true, the whole difference in sense between the groups, but which emphasize the point of view that was laid stress upon above; and these terms, I think, could be used even by scholars that attach the chief weight to other characteristics of the words, viz. *assertive* and *denominational* ag. -n. (*erzählende* und *benennende* nom. ag.)

Assertive ag.-n., consequently, are ag. -n. with strongly marked verbal character, denoting one that performs a certain action, or is in a certain condition, on a certain occasion ("zeitlich begrenzt"), whether he perform the action or be in the condition in question only then or repeatedly.

Denominational ag.-n. do not possess any strongly marked verbal character, but their appellative nature is fully developed ("dauernd" or "zeitlos"), they denote the representative of an action

or a condition after which the person (or thing) is denominated, whether he perform the action or be in the condition in question just then or not.

A clear line of demarcation cannot, of course, be drawn between these groups: they merge imperceptibly into each other. There is a continuous series of ag.-n., passing step by step from words that are so intimately associated with the verb as to form with the verb of the clause only a periphrasis of the verb from which the ag.-n. is derived, up to words which have lost every association with the verb, and which suggest the person himself (the thing itself), even without any accessory notion of him (it) as performing the action in question. As examples of such opposite extremes in the O. E. stock of nom. ag., I may give: *andetta* (only used predicatively with bēon = andettan 'to confess') — *wita* 'counsellor' (cp. *witena* ʒemōt), *rynel* 'river'.

Among the denominational ag.-n., however, we can very easily discriminate between certain definite groups. A very marked group is the category of words denoting the exerciser of a calling, the *calling-denoting* ag.-n. Other words indicate the performer of an action more vaguely, but still in such a way as to describe him or characterize him by that very action, though it is not performed professionally: I call such words *descriptive* or *characterizing* ag.-n. We might perhaps distinguish between descriptive and characterizing ag.-n. and apply the former term to words of the type of O. E. *wizend*, *wiʒa*, and the latter to such words as *nihtezale*, but that discrimination, though very easy to make in many cases, proves extremely difficult to carry out consistently in practice; a very great number, probably the majority, of the latter type are, moreover, united into a semological whole by their character of denoting animals, plants, or things. If a distinction between these two types of person-designating ag.-n. (i. e. descriptive and characterizing) were made, the descriptive ag.-n. could be said to form the transition-stage from assertive ag.-n. to denominational ag.-n., though belonging rather to the latter group.

I ought perhaps to illustrate the above discussion by a few further examples taken from O. E.:

1. *Assertive ag.-n.:*

Setl ʒedafenað deman, and steall *fylstendum* oððe *feohtendum* Ælfc Hom 1 48₆;

he onᵹann cweðan þæt he sylfa wære *cwylmend* þæs mannes
Greg. 89⁵.

2. *Denominational ag.-n.:*

   a) Descriptive or characterizing ag.-n.:

   α) Ic *ǣrendraca* and *boda* drihtnes hælendes Cristes (said
      by an angel) Obs. of Sunday, Furn. Misc. 357₁₀;
      sendon maran sciphere strenᵹran *wiᵹena* Bd I 866;
      ure *hǣlend* Crist (often);
      Judas, Cristes *belǣwend* Disc. Sacr. Cr. 15⁶; *lǣwa* KCD.
      1334 VI 196¹³;

   β) *nihteᵹale, ēarscripel, solsēce*¹ uel *siᵹelhweorfe, -a.*

   b) Calling-denoting ag.-n.

   Secō-wyrhta, hunta, fiscere, birele.

The descriptive ag.-n of the type of *boda, ǣrendraca, wiᵹa*
were said to form the transition-stage from assertive ag.-n. The
descriptive ag.-n. of the type of *belǣwend*, which are often not to
be distinguished from the others, form, on the other hand, the
transition-stage between nom. ag. and concr. nom. virtutis.² In *Iūdas,
Cristes belǣwend* or *lǣwa*, we have still to do with a noun denot-
ing a person denominated from an *action* (note the objective
genitive), thus with an ag.-n, but in ᵹod nele þæt we beon ᵹrædiᵹe
ᵹytseras (L. S. XVI 329), we have a more ambiguous case. *ᵹītsere*
is formed from the verb *ᵹītsian* 'to covet, desire', by means of
the common ag.-forming suff. *-ere*, but to my mind it suggests —
as does its synonym *se ᵹītsienda*, and the corresponding L. word,
viz. the adj. *avarus* (used substantively) — the bearer of a quality
rather than the performer of an action, and is thus, in my opi-
nion, rather a concr. nom. virtutis.

For practical reasons, I have thought it most appropriate to
treat, in excursuses, of such cases as those mentioned, as well, when
occurring exceptionally in common ag.-forming suffixes.

For other questions concerning semology, cp. also the treat-
ment of the semology of each particular suffix.

Before leaving the general discussion of these questions, I may
be allowed to add still a few words. It may be comparatively easy
to distinguish between various semological types within the sphere
of nom. ag. But it soon becomes evident how extremely difficult

¹ O. E. association with *sēcan* secondary; < L. *solisequia.*

² When necessary, I retain this term of NOREEN's in my treatise, though
it is not a suitable parallel to nom. ag. in the sense here used

it is to undertake a classification of the stock of ag.-n. of a certain language from these points of view. That task is difficult when the language to be examined is a living one and one's own mother-tongue; it is most precarious when a dead language is concerned. The material is then limited, and it is often impossible to state the exact signification of a word. In many cases, the occurrence of a certain word in only one sense is no doubt fortuitious and due to lack of a sufficient number of records.

There still remains one question to be settled in the delimitation of my subject: the question of such words as were originally nom. ag. at the distant time when they were formed, but are no longer felt as such in O. E., i. e. *obscured ag.-n.* Such an obscuration may have taken place in proethnic English, in Teutonic, or even pre-Teutonic times; it may be due to the extinction of the primitive word or to phonological or semological changes having taken place in it, so as to make association with the derived word impossible; also the suffix in question is sometimes no longer felt as agent-forming in O. E., or even as a suffix at all.

§ 10.
Obscured ag.-n.

A detailed study of all obscured ag.-n. in O. E. would, of course, take us very far and lead us away from what has been indicated as being the chief object of this study: the production of a monography on O. E. ag.-n. with special attention to the productivity of the different ag.-forming suffixes. But even though I thus consider myself to be quite at liberty to treat of obscured ag.-n. to such an extent as I choose, if treating of them at all, yet it will prove advantageous for the understanding also of the O. E. development to give some attention to at least such obscured ag.-n. as are formed with suffixes still used in that function in O. E. And so I have worked, in this respect, upon the following principles:

1) obscured ag.-n. formed by means of suffixes that are still living in O. E. as agent-forming are dealt with.[1]

2) obscured ag.-n. belonging to altogether extinct types of formation are passed over.

If, however, in case 1), the obscuration should have taken place very early, perhaps in pre-Teutonic times, I claim the liberty of dealing with the word or omitting it, as seems best. In such cases the etymology is often dubious; different explanations have been

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[1] *living* is here not used in the sense of productive, only in the meaning of *felt as ag.-forming.*

given and seem to be possible; it is a province where only com-
parative philologists are entitled to decide the cases.   But words
that were not, as it seems, obscured until proethnic English are
always taken into consideration.

Before going on to the subject proper of my study, as it has
now been defined and delimited, I have, however, in the *introduc-
tion*, given a short *exposé* of quite extinct types of agent-forma-
tions.   It may be that an investigation of this kind would be
better based on Teutonic, and not O. E., material.   But what has
seemed interesting to me to find out is whether there are in O. E.
*words whose primitive words still exist, and which retain, in spite
of the extinction of the type as a mode of agent-formation, their
association with the primitive word,* or at least could possibly,
upon reflection, be felt as a sort of ag.-n. in relation to the still
living verb from which they were originally formed.   A short in-
troductory discussion of such extinct types will therefore, I think,
not be altogether devoid of interest.

Some remarks concerning obsolete types of agent-formation.

In I. E. times many suffixes had the faculty of forming nom. *Originally* ag. which in the Teutonic languages — in this case O. E. — no *ag.-forming* *suffixes.* longer lived on as suffixes, at least not as agent-forming suffixes. Such was the case with I. E. *-o-*, *-i-*, [*-u-*, originally adj.], [*-u̯o-*, adj.; cp. *-u̯es-* below] and *-iu-* (in Teut. languages only in nom. actionis), which, in the Teutonic family of languages, have all lost their character of suffixes and have passed into stem-formative elements.[1] Such has also been the case with certain other suffixes, which have not been changed into stem-formative elements, it is true, but which have coalesced entirely with the stem. These suffixes are:

-meno-, *-mo-*[2]: O. N. dammr, O. E. *damm (cp. M. E. dam and O. E. fordemman) < *dammaz : $\sqrt{\text{dh}\bar{\text{e}}}$

-(s)men-[3], in the case of which the original character of the different words, of nom. ag. or nom. actionis, is difficult to decide: O. E. ʒōma: $\sqrt{\text{ghēu}}$ 'yawn'

-u̯en-[4]: O. E. spearwa: $\sqrt{\text{sper}}$ 'zappeln'[5]

-ter-, *-tel-*[6]: L. actor; O. H. G. friudil 'amator': $\sqrt{\text{prī}}$ 'love'[7]

-t-[8]: L. sacer-dōs 'qui sacra dat', O. E. hæle (hæleð) 'Held', O. H. G.

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[1] To these suffixes, however, does not belong *-io-* (Brugmann § 109 ff.), which derives nouns from other nouns. In the Teut. languages there are words formed with *-io-* that have the character of (desubstantive) nom. ag., e. g. *hierde* 'tender of a herd': *heord* 'herd'.

[2] See Brugmann, §§ 160—163.

[3] See Brugmann, §§ 164—169.

[4] See Brugmann, § 232 ff.

[5] Cp. Brugmann, IF. 13. 160 note 1) and Uhlenbeck PBB 30, 309.

[6] See Brugmann, § 243 ff.

[7] To these words possibly belongs O. E. *bealdor* O. N. *baldr* (Brugmann § 248). Cp. below, p. 39.

[8] See Brugmann, § 312 ff.

sceffid, O. N. skapaðr 'creator' [cp. -to- forming abstracts and
words with a passive sense in relation to the vb.]   Note also
-ti- and -tu-, forming nom. actionis, which, however, by sense-
development, very often pass into person-designating words
and then get a secondary character of nom. ag., e. g. Goth.
hliftus 'thief'; Skr. mantuš 1) 'Ratschlag' 2) 'Ratgeber'; dhūti-š
'Schütteln' and 'Schüttler'

-ṷes-, -ṷos-, -us-[1], used to form active pa. ptc., sometimes sub-
stantivized, e. g. Goth. bērusjōs 'parents' (BRUGMANN § 450), to
which suffix also belongs -ṷot-, e. g. Goth. weitwōds 'Zeuge'.

It is impossible that a word formed with one of these last
suffixes should still be felt in O. E. as an ag.-n. to the *primitive
word*.   On the other hand, it sometimes happens that such a word
is felt as ag.-n. of a *secondary verb*, which, in its turn, is often
formed from the obscured ag.-n. in question.   So O. E. *weard*
'watchman, guardian' may possibly be felt in O. E. as ag.-n. of the
secondary verb *weard-ian* 'to watch over, guard, possess' (but not
of *warian*, G. *wahren* : √ṷer, with the same sense); I leave out
of consideration, then, the fact that the word is originally ab-
stract (being a *tu*-formation, cp. O. N. *rǫrðr*), for it has obtained
agential meaning very early, and the corresponding abstract word
is a formation with suffix -tā-, O. E. *weard*, *f.* 'watch'.

I. Suffix I. E. -o-.

I. Masculine words.

*Original
character of
agential o-
stems.*

Subsequently to GRIMM[2] and JACOBI,[3] these words have been
treated of by ZIMMER (1876), who has made an all but exhaustive
collection of them, yet, of course, with many words wrongly clas-
sed with them.[4]

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[1] See BRUGMANN, § 442 ff.

[2] Deutsche Grammatik: Geschichte d. deutschen sprache 1848.

[3] Untersuchungen über die bildung d. Nomina in den germ. sprachen,
Breslau 1847.

[4] ZIMMER'S material need scarcely be completed, but only sorted and
sifted to a considerable extent. A Germanist, certainly, will not be so in-
cautious as to build upon ZIMMER'S statements, but to a comparative philolo-
gist it may be useful to have a supplement to his work, or to part of it. As
regards the nom. actionis, such a supplement of a most reliable and valuable
kind was afforded by v. BAHDER (1880), and another work also completing it
(as far as English is concerned) is PALMGREN, Gradation-nouns (1904).

The principal rule for the formations with suff. -o- (a rule which is still to be observed in Skr. and Gr.[1]) is that the suffix formed *nom. actionis* stressed on the *stem*, and *nom. agentis* stressed on the *suffix*, e. g. Skr. *bháras* 'das Tragen, Bürde', -*bharás* 'tragend' in *rāja-bharás* 'den Preis davon-tragend', Gr. *φόρος* 'Beitrag, Steuer', -*φορός* 'tragend'.

In the case of nom. act., a change of gender has often taken place: masc. > neut. Cp. v. BAHDER p. 39 ff.

As regards the *ablaut-grades* of the words, Gr. *φόρος*, -*φορός* (= Skr. *bháras*, -*bharás*) show the original state of things[2], which, as far as nom. actionis are concerned, has also been shown to hold true for the Teutonic languages.[3] Formations with present-time vowel, which are much rarer, are declared by BRUGMANN and v. BAHDER to be younger, and the latter scholar regards them as being especially characteristic of West Teut. languages. Besides, v. BAHDER, in passing[4], makes a statement as to *'schwächste oder mittlere Wurzelstufe'* for the ag.-n. of this type, and cites OSTHOFF, PBB 3, p. 17 ff. (wrongly, cp. below, p. 31).

Thus, the only difference between nom. ag. and nom. act. formed with suffix -o- is the place of the stress. In the Teut. languages we can, consequently, decide the original character of a word as being nom. ag. or nom. act. only in such cases where the original stressing can be ascertained by means of VERNER's law.[5] One must always reckon with the possibility of changes of sense, and often one cannot get any further than to state what gives the most natural explanation and, consequently, is most likely, or what is the semological function of a word at a certain period and in a certain dialect.

What interests us here is, as was indicated above (p. 18), *Material* whether, among the orig. ag.-n. of this type, there are any that *discussed.* cannot be regarded as altogether obscured in O. E. For that purpose, we need only consider the material given by ZIMMER on pp. 28—46, and can quite disregard the words given on pp. 46—65, whose etymology is obscure, and which are given also by ZIMMER

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[5] Cp. BRUGMANN § 90. LINDNER p. 17.

[2] BRUGMANN, § 92.

[3] Cp. v. BAHDER p. 35.

[4] p. 42.

[5] And even then analogy may have changed the original state of things. Cp. BRUGMANN § 90, p. 152.

with reserve. Of the words given there, the following belong to
O. E. — such of the words as were obscured already in Teutonic
times are given in brackets and thus eliminated:

1. Root of intr. sense

scric, spring, steort, sting 'Stachel' (possibly ja-st.), [finc 'finch',
seolh 'seal', dæg 'day', swan], hōf, [hrōc 'crow', cp. Goth. secondary
hrūkjan 'to crow', wǣl 'vortex', snāw 'snow', mǣw 'gull, mew'],
scrid, hrūt, sprēot, drēor, rēac, scēað [ðēaw 'custom'], eorp. The
word skarfr 'cormorant' is only given as O. N., but occurs also
in O. E. scræf.

With reserve ZIMMER gives, as belonging here:
lēod 'prince', lēad 'man' (though he queries its existence), scēat,
[dēaw 'dew'].

2. Root of tr. sense.

beorg, borg, [wolf, scop], wearg, [ham 'cover', cp. the secondary
Goth. vb -hamōn 'to clothe'], ðwang, feald 'fold', steald and
ʒesteald 'Herr, owner', wand, scǣr (scear), [ʒnǣt, 'gnat', hǣʒ (haʒa),
lǣt 'Freigelassener', cealf 'calf' (is, moreover, os- es- st.), hōc 'hook',
ād 'pile', cosp 'fetter'], bēod, ēad, drēaʒ 'Gespenst', ʒenēat, -waldr
in personal names.

More uncertain, according to ZIMMER, are:
[stæf 'staff', māt 'cuneus', given with reserve; the word does not
exist at all].

Even of those of the above words that have not been enclo-
sed in brackets, a great many must be eliminated as misunder-
stood:

a) *as not existing,* i. e., not given in BT., Sw., Cl.-H., Gr.-K., or
Nap:

eorp as a sb., only an adj., 'brown, dark', O. N. jarpr-; with other
ablaut earp (quoted from Ettm.); lēad (quoted from Ettm.) 'man'; the word
means only 'lead', which sense occurs also in O. E. leadstæf, from which
word ZIMMER thinks that Ettm. has possibly assumed the word. If the
sense of 'man' really occurs for the word, then it must be the word
leod in a dialectal by-form[1], but such a by-form of that word is not
recorded either by BT. or Gr.-K.; drēaʒ 'Gespenst'[2]; (ʒe)steald 'Herr';
only ʒesteald occurs, but that is a neut. word meaning 'dwelling-place'.
Nor does haʒosteald 'bachelor, virgin', belong here, since it is a cons. st.

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[1] Cp. BÜLBRING §§ 112, 114.

[2] "Only record" is Sal. 44, for which see ib. (Ags. Poesie III 2, 60) and
cp. foot-note.

b) *as wrongly classified* (besides *cealf*, see above):

scrid 'carriage' is neut.; so also *ēad*.

rēar, rīec, rēc is an *i*-st.; so also *lēod*[1] (cp. above *lēad*); *gefeald* (simplex *feald* unrecorded, cp. *falod*) neut.?; at any rate, no ag.-n., as prefix *ge-* indicates, cp. GR.-K. for this word; *falod* 'fold' is not formed by means of *o*-suff.; perhaps also *scrīc* is no orig. *o*-stem, cp. below p. 24 f.

c) *as wrongly interpreted etymologically*:

hōf 'hoof', 'der sich hebende' (*: hebban*) according to ZIMMER; cp. FICK 90; *beorg* 'mountain', 'der bergende' (*: beorgan*) acc. to ZIMMER; better with PERSSON, Beitr. 21 note 5, as an original adj. 'hoch, erhaben'.

d) *as nom. actionis*:

sting, styng 'pricking', the sense of 'sting' not recorded in O. E. Whether *sting* or *styng* (prim. Teut. **stengoz* or **stungiz*), cp. PALM-GREN, pp. 34, 75.

spring 1) source of water, spring 2) sprinkling 3) pustule (cp. O. H. G. *gesprinc* 'pustule') < **sprengoz* (perhaps also **sprungiz*)[2], cp. N. E. *spring* (not **springe*) and cp. O. S. *gi-spring* 'well', O. H. G. *(ga)spring*. In cpp. such as *upspring* 'ortus (solis)' the word is a clear nom. act., and that such is its original character is also rendered likely by the forms with prefix *ga-*, which we meet with in O. H. G. *gesprinc, gaspring*.[3]

bēod 'table': *bēodan* 'bieten'. Original sense not to be ascertained, but likely to have been nom act.; thus 'Bieten' > 'Platz wo das Essen geboten wird'.[4]

sēað 'pit, hole, well', O. Frs. *sāth*, M. H. G. *sôt*, gen. *sôdes* 'Kochen, Wallen': *seoðan*. The original character of nom. act. is proved by the consonant, which indicates stressing of the stem, thus < **sáuþoz* 'sieden'.[5]

borg 1) security 2) person who gives security, fideiussor, common law-term.[6] In view of the sense of the word in cpp., e. g. *borh-bryce* 'pledge-breaking', and the existence in several dialects of an ag.-n. derived from this very *borg*, viz. O. E. *byrga*, 'one who gives security', O. Frs. *burga*, M. L. G. *borge*, O. H. G. *purigo* 'Bürge', the original sense is likely to have been actional.

e) *as desubstantive*:

geneat 'Genosse', for which see excursus, p. 32.

After this weeding out of ZIMMER's material, there should thus remain twelve words which are *possibly* ag.-n., and which have the primitive word retained, at least in *prim. Teut.*, viz.

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[1] Cp. SIEVERS Ags. Gr. §§ 261, 264.

[2] Cp. PALMGREN pp. 34, 75.

[3] As regards the pref. *ga-* as evidence of nom. act., see v. BANDER p. 198 ff.

[4] Cp. NED beod, UHLENBECK PBB 30, p. 268. Etymology not quite certain.

[5] It is also most unlikely that O. E. *ð-* (not *d*) should here be due to analogy with the verb. In O. E. at least, the association with the verb is totally obscured, cp. heht scufan scyldigne in *drigne seað* El. 693.

[6] Cp. LIEBERMANN II: 1 p. 26.

scric, steort, hrut, sprēot, drēor, scēat, wearʒ, þwanʒ. wand, scēur,
scrǽf, -weald, which may be the subject of a short discussion.
Then there are two words that have been wrongly classified as neut.
by ZIMMER, viz. *flēot* and, at least in all probability, *hǽf,* and one word
regarded by ZIMMER as nom. act., viz. *bēaʒ.* By the side of these
words still another may at least be discussed, viz. *wrǽc.*

Of these words a few are obscured in O. E., since the verb
from which they are derived is extinct in O. E. (or unrecorded).

a) *Primitive words not recorded in **O. E.***

scrǽf 'cormorant', O. N. *skarfr;* cp. with *-an(-ōn)*-extension O. H. G.
scarba, f., *scarbo,* m.
: Teut. *skerb-,* 'einen schnarrenden Laut geben', cp. O. N. *skrafa* 'to
talk, chatter'.[1]

scrīc 'thrush' is interpreted by ZIMMER as 'die springende,
hüpfende', and he compares it to O. H. G. *houscric* 'grasshopper'[2].
ZIMMER thus assumes ī to be the stem-vowel. The records of the word
are: *scric* turdus Ep. 1013, Co. T 324; gl. structio Harl. gl. Zup.
65[3]; *serec* turdus Erf. 1013;[4] *scruc* turdus Leid. XLVII 63.[5]

The vowel, however, must be regarded as long. cp. N. E. *shrike*
and *screech,* and thus ZIMMER's etymology must be rejected. Then
it seems a little too daring to eliminate, without further ceremony,
the Erf. form *screc* as wrong, when N. E. *screech* and *shrike* are
compared, and when the great variety of forms in onomatopoeti-
cal formations is considered[6]. Note also O. N. *skrǽkr* 'Geschrei'.
I assume two words: 1) O. E. *scrīc* < prim. Teut. **skrīk-,* cp. O. N.
skríkja 'to chirp, twitter'[7], O. S. *scrīcōn* and O. N. *skríkja,* f. 'fe-
mina gigas' (EG.); 2) O. E. *screc* (Anglian) = W. S. **scrǽc* < prim.
Teut. **skrǽk-,* cp. O. N. *skrǽkr* 'Geschrei', *skrǽkja,* vb.[8]

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[1] FICK 457, SUOLAHTI 393.

[2] He might still, in support of his etymology, have compared *þrostle* <
*þramstala. cp. Goth. *þramstei* 'locusta' and O. S. *thrimman* 'to jump, spring'.

[3] Cp. stratio struta Cl. gl. 258[6]. The above glossing must be due to
misunderstanding.

[4] *screc* wrong form, accord. to SWEET. OET. ibid. Cp. below.

[5] Probably, with HESSELS, Leid. gl. p. 208 (turdus) and 234 (scruc) to be
regarded as written for *scriic.*

[6] Cp. PERSSON, Wurzelerweiterung. p. 194, where also some relatives of
this word are discussed Perhaps even the form *scruc* (Leid.) must not be
eliminated.

[7] THORKELSSON 1.

[8] The probability that this etymology is, beyond any doubt, the right one,
is also supported by the meaning of the word. In all those glosses where *scric*

O. N. *skrǽkr*, however, is an *i*-stem and nom. actionis. As for the O. E. words, there is no internal evidence to show what stem they belong to, nor what their original function was.[1] Onomato-poetical words of this kind may have been readily used as nom. ag. and nom. act., without any difference in form. If the word in O. E. was felt to mean anything at all literally, it must have been as an ag.-n., i. e. 'shrieker'. Probably there already existed in O. E. a corresponding vb, cp. M. E. *shriken, shrichen*, the dates and dialects and forms of the earliest records of which point to the existence, even in O. E., of a vb. **scrīcan* or **scrīcian*.[2]

steort 1) 'tail' 2) 'promontory': prim. Teut. **stertan* III, M.H.G. *sterzen*, O. N. *sterta*, M. E. *sterten* (cp. O. E. *steartlian*). Original sense likely to have been 'der steif emporragende'[3].

wearᴣ 'outlaw, felon', O. H. G. *warg, warc*, O. N. *vargr*, Goth. *launa-vargs*, L. (Lex. Sal.) *vargus* 'geächteter': prim. Teut. **ᴜerᴣan* III 'ein-schnüren, würgen', M. H. G. *erwergen*. This sense will be the original one, though the sense of 'wolf' must have been developed already in prim. Teut., cp. O. N. *wargr* 'wolf' and O. E. *wierᴣen* 'she-wolf'. SÜTTER-LIN (p. 3) gives this word as the only O. E. example of an *o*-formation which in prim. Teut. possibly still retained its agential character, and it is the word taken by comparative philologists as a typical example of this category of old ag.-n. in Teut. languages. Now the word is not quite generally accepted as a nom. ag. in the sense here used. KAUFFMANN assumes the original meaning to have been 'einer der (zur strafe) ein-geschnürt worden ist, dem eine Halskette umgelegt ist'.[4] In that case, we have to do with a noun with passive sense in relation to the verb.

In O. E., at any rate, the word is isolated (cp. wierᴣan, 1, 'to curse').

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occurs as a gloss of *turdus*, also *þrostle* occurs as a gloss of *turdella*. *Seric* is evidently the larger of the two usual Engl. thrush varieties, the *misselthrush*, just the species which is known for the harsh cries it utters (cp. Encycl. Brit.: *trush*, and cp. WHITMAN JGPh II 158.

[1] HOLTHAUSEN, IF. 20,330 gives a parallel from *It.*, viz. *scriccio* 'Zaunkönig' < W. *Teut.* **skrikkio* 'Schreier', ag.-n. formed with *ɪa*-suff. to O. S. *scricōn*. For the O. E., however, such a *ɪa*-formation cannot be assumed, since the form of the word would then be **scrīce*, unless the actual form *scric* is a blending between an ag.-n. **scrīce* and a nom. act. *scrēc*.

[2] Ab. 1200: Trin. Coll. Hom. 181: elch wimman - - þan hie beð mid childe bistonden - - *shrikeð* and reuliche biginneð (N. E. D.). Ab. 1225 Owl & Night.: *schrichen* (*schirchen*) (STRATMANN). — For the N. E. forms of the vb. and sb., see also BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words p. 131.

[3] Cp. FALK-TORP; PERSSON, Beitr. 433: EHRISMANN, Etymologien PBB 20,50.

[4] KAUFFMANN PBB 18,175 ff., where earlier explanations of the word are referred to. Cp. also FALK-TORP: MIKKOLA, Wörter u. Sachen 2,218: SCHRADER. Reallexikon pp. 836, 965.

þwanʒ, 'thong, strip of leather', *sceōua þwanʒa* 'shoe-strings', O. H. G.
dwang, *thwang* and *dwing*, O. N. *þwengr*: O. H. G. *dwingan*, O. S. *thwin-*
gan: I. E. √*tu̯enk*.[1] In these words, the *h*-forms have been altogether
superseded by the *g*-forms, so that the final consonant does not prove
original stressing of an ag.-n. Fick, ibid., gives prim. Teut. **þwanʒi-*
which is right for O. N., but not for the W. Teut. forms. Certainly an
original nom. act. must. be assumed, thus:
prim. Teut. **þuánχoz* > **þuanʒa* > O. H. G. *dwang*, *thwang*, N. H. G.
zwang, O. Frs. *thwang*, Sw. *tvång*, Dan. *tvang*.
Whether O. E. *þwang* is this word or a later adaptation to the *o*-stems
of an original *i*-stem, thus = **þuanʒiz* > O. N. *tvengr*, I leave undecided,
though the former alternative seems more likely.[2]

b) *Primitive words still living in O. E.*

1) *Original sense uncertain (possibly agential), not felt as*
ag.-n. in O. E.

hœf 'leaven': *hebban* VI, 'heave, raise', thus originally 'Heber',
i. e. 'Teig-heber', or nom. act. 'fermentation', cp. O. H. G. *urhab*
'causa, fermentum, urheber' and *hefo*, *hefilo*, weak m. 'Hefe, leaven',
nom. ag. The O. E. word was given correctly as *hœf* by Zimmer,
but is given wrongly as *hœfe* (*hefe*) by BT., Sw., and Fick, in which
last dictionary the original form is declared to be **hafja*. Only
one record, then, seems to be referred to, viz. Mk. 8.₁₅: warniað
fram herodes *hœfe* — cavete a fermento Herodis. Note, however,
also Harl. gl. 236[42]: fermentum *hœf* uel beorma, and Nap. gl. 57,₃:
fermentum, i. condimentum ꝼ blandimentum *hœf*.[3] O. E. gender
not to be ascertained (Zimmer supposed neut.), but cp. O. H. G.
urhab m. n., D. *hef* m., and cp. the semologically probably parallel
formations, O. H. G. *hefo*, *hefilo* m., which render the m. gender
probable.

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[1] Fick 196.

[2] There are a great number of different forms of this word. Cp. O.H.G.
dwing, *gadwing*, with later adaptation to the vowel of the present (< **þu̯enʒoz*),
nom. act., and Sw. dial. *tring* (well-known to the author), 'small wedge', esp.
one used to fasten the scythe to its handle. Also weak forms occur. M H. G.
dwenge.

[3] It is really surprising that the said lexicographers, even if knowing
only the record Mk. 8,₁₅, could have assumed a *ja*-stem. If it were a *ja*-stem,
the dat. form would have been **hebbe* < W. Teut. **hafjai* (cp. Sievers Ags.
gr. § 227), and the nom. of the word would be **heb(b)*. Sweet seems to have
noticed that difficulty and avoided it by assuming a regular O. E. form **hefe*,
thus an *i*-st. (wrongly). — Cp. *hefe*, m. 'weight' < **χafiz*, a different word.

In O. E. the word has become formally distinct from its verb.

scēat, 'corner, projection; garment; lap; surface' etc., (see BT):
scēotan II in the intr. original sense of 'project'[1], cp. O. H. G.
scōz m., O. N. skaut, n., Goth. skauts, m. = *skauta-.

In O. E. the word has become semologically distinct from
its verb.

sprēot 'pole': *sprūtan II (*sprēotan), cp. N. E. sprout, which
pre-supposes such an O. E. vb. — Sb. and vb. formally and semo-
logically distinct.

wand 'mole': windan III 1) tr. 'wind, twist' 2) intr. 'to turn,
move'; originally 'winden, sich winden'.[2] ZIMMER interprets the
word as 'der die Erde umwendende', which cannot be reconciled
with the sense of the verb. JORDAN thinks (ibid.) that wand is
'Kurzform' for the original and more usual wandeweorpe, an im-
possible supposition, since this so-called "kurzform" exists both
as an independent word and as the last element of cpp. in
G. and in Scand. dialects (cp. foot-note below). And what might
this wand in wandeweorpe mean then? On the contrary, the
addition of -weorpe is later, and has taken place on account of the
obscured etymology of the word, and because of influence from
some word corresponding to O. H. G. multwurf, moltwerfe. FICK
(ibid.) assumes that the animal has received its name from its
'eigentümlich gebogenen Tatzen', thus 'der gebogene, der sich win-
dende', which does not seem impossible. Another possibility that
occurs to me is that wand is a substantivized adj., meaning either
'the crooked one', cp. O. N. vindr 'schief, gekrümmt', an explanation
which in reality tallies with the explanation in Fick, or 'the shy
one', cp. O. E. wandian 'to hesitate, flinch, stand in awe of'. In
contrast to SCHULDT,[3] I regard this vb as formed, not from the vb
windan, but from an O. E. adj. *wand 'hesitating, shy, ängstlich',
for compare O. N. vandr 'genau, ängstlich, wählerisch' and the vb.
vanda 'genau, wählerisch sein', with which it should certainly be
identified. Then the O. E. sb. might simply be that adj. substan-
tivized. In any case, the original meaning will be 'der sich win-
dende', though the exact import of this is difficult to decide.

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[1] FALK-TORP 'skyde'.

[2] FICK 390. For O. E. records of this word and for corresponding words
in other languages, s. JORDAN p. 75.

[3] Bildung der Verba im Altengl. § 27.

In O. E. not associated with *windan*, as the above-mentioned
addition of -*weorpe* shows.[1]

2) *Original sense agential, not felt as ag.-n. in O. E.*

bēaʒ 'ring, bracelet, crown': *būgan* II 'to bow', given as nom.
act. by ZIMMER, but more likely to be nom. ag., cp. Skr. *bhōgá-*
'Windung, Ring', the accentuation of which points to an orig. ag.-n.
In O. E. altogether distinct from the verb.

-*drēor*[2] 'blood, cruor' (cp. *blōd*, n. 'sanguis', also 'cruor'), :
drēosan II 'to fall'; O. S. *drōr*, O. H. G. *trōr*, O. N. *dreyri*, n. The
originally agential sense is proved by the consonant; prim. Teut.
*ðreuzós, resp. **ðrauzós* 'der fallende, rinnende'.

-*weald* : wealdan, VII, would, of course, still be felt as an ag.-n.,
but the word exists only as the last element of cpp. in proper names.[3]
As for its originally agential character, cp. O. N. *valdr*, which
will certainly have been one of the inducing morphemes giving new
vitality to this mode of ag.-formation in Scand.[4]

3) *Original sense probably agential, probably felt as ag.-n.
in O. E.*

-*flēot* 'raft, ship, vessel', also 'bay, gulf, river': *flēotan* II 'to float'.
Zimmer gave the word as neut., cp, however, *fleotas* æstuaria Ep.
Erf. 107; cp. O. N. *fljót*, n. 'river' (in proper names). O. H. G. *flōz*, m.

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[1] FICK assumes a prim. Teut. form **wandu-*, *u*-st., in which case the word
would not belong here. The adduced Norw. dial.-forms *wond*, *moldwond*
(beside *wand*) afford, however, no evidence of that. On the contrary, this
supposition is refuted by the composition-joint in the O. E. cp. (Ep. 1045) *uuan-
dænuiorpæ*, (Erf.) *uuandæuuerpe* (cp. M. L. G. *windewōrp*), which composition-
vowel is remarkable under any circumstances, it is true, but which must be
regarded as indicating an *o*-stem — an *ā*-stem is impossible, on account of
'Flurnamen' such as *Wandesford* — where it is retained, contrary to the rule.
Cp. also BERGSTEN Cpp. sb. in Engl., p. 32.

[2] ZIMMER and FICK also give O. E. *drēar* as a rarer form; BT. and Sw.
do not mention such a form, nor do any of BT.'s instances of *drēor* show that
vowel. If there should be a form *drear* found anywhere, that form must be
minutely investigated as to the character of its record, because it might go
back to **ðreuza*, equally well as to **ðrauza*.

[3] When the cp. word *onwald*, Ph. 511, denotes a person, this must be re-
garded as a personifying of an abstract word, a procedure not unusual in O.E.
poetry, e. g. *wisdom* Metr. 6,1. and not as a record of an old ag.-n. The sense
of G. *Anwalt* as denoting persons is secondary, the ag.-n. is O. H. G. only
ana-walta = O. E. *anwealda*.

[4] Cp. ZIMMER pp. 41 and 181, SÜTTERLIN p. 3, FALK p. 7.

'Flut, strömung', M. H. G. *flōz*, m. 'ratis'. Both meanings thus seem to belong to a common Teutonic language. It seems more natural to assume two different formations than change of sense from 'Flut' > 'Floss'. In the sense of 'ship, vessel',[1] the word is likely to have been felt as an ag.-n. in O. E., which is also the most natural original meaning that suggests itself, whereas in the sense of 'æstuaria' the original sense will better be regarded as actional, cp. O. E. *flōd*, G. *Flut*, Sw. *flöde* etc., all originally nom act. The neut. gender in O. N. is evidently a change that has taken place in that particular language.[2]

hrūt : *hrūtan* II 'to snore'. Record: balidus *hrut* Cl. gl. 361[13]. Ettm. compares it to O. N. *hrútr* 'ugildet væder' 'ram', and explains balidus = balans animal, cp. *hryte* balidinus Ælfc. voc 163[18]. BT. gives *ū* or *ŭ* and so also in the case of *hrȳte*. In *hryte*, however, *y* must be long, or the form would be **hryt(t)*, consequently also *hrūt*, of which it is a *ja*-derivation.

scear, *scer*, *scær* 'a plough-share', O. H. G. *scar*, *-o* : *sceran* IV. Glosses vomer and forfex. The form *scer* occurs only in texts, e. g. Cl. gl., where it can and should be explained as due to late palatalisation, not as formed with present -t. -vowel. All O. E. forms, consequently, point to prim. Teut. *scaroz.

I also mentioned another word, viz.

wræc, which is, however, a most dubious word, translated by BT. as 'what is driven'. Records: *uuræc* actuaris Ep. 87, *uræc* Erf. ib., *wraec* actuarius Co. A 135.

Now, the sense of the word would not be difficult to fix, if the source of the gloss could be found.[3] BT. seems to identify the word with O. N. *rek* n., *hafrek*, *rágrek* 'what is driven (driving) on the sea'.[4] In that case, the lemma would occur in a passage with the meaning of 'navis quæ velo et remis similiter agitur',[5] in which sense the word *actuaria*, sb. or adj., sometimes is found. The form *actuarius*, certainly, is not to be expected in that case, but may, of course, be due to normalizing by the scribe. In another passage, actuarius is glossed 'acta qui facit' Ep. 4 AB 15,[6] which is also the

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[1] The modern sense of 'fleet' not found until M. E.

[2] See also SCHNEPPER p. 51.

[3] Perhaps it is, but it has at least escaped my attention. Not given by GRUBER in his work 'Die Hauptquellen des Co. Ep. and Erf. gl.' (Erl. 1904).

[4] Of course, not complete identity, since there are different vowels in the words. Cp. also WESSÉN Germ. n-dekl., p. 101.

[5] DIEFENBACH.

[6] SCHLUTTER's edition of the glossary.

usual meaning of the word. Often in Med. L. actuarius stands in
the common sense of 'actor, qui agit', nom. ag. of agere (cp. Du
Ca), and it may not be quite impossible that this is the sense here
occurring, cp. wræc egit Ep. Erf. 90, wrecende agens, etc. Then
the word would mean 'driver', probably with some specialized
sense that is not to be ascertained; cp. also O. E. ǣrendwreca
'messenger' : ǣrende wrecan = ǣrende bēodan. In that case, the word
would be formally identical with Goth. wraks m. 'verfolger' διώκτης
(T. 1,13).

At any rate, the word belongs to wrecan V, of which it is
likely to be a nom. ag., unless, possibly, the sense-relation to the
verb is passive.

The above collection, based on Zimmer, will probably include
all O. E. masc. o-stems to be considered in this connection. I
have also looked through Sweet's dictionary for such words, without
coming across any other words calling for discussion here.[1] It
will be seen, then, that, of the *O. E. masc. o-stems* with an etymo-
logy transparent at least in Teutonic times, there are only a very
few for which original agential meaning can be proved, or even
for which an agential meaning must be supposed to have been
felt in O. E., whether this agential character was original or due
to change of sense. Only in **hrūt**, **scear**, **flēot** and possibly, or
probably, **wræc** and **scrīc**, have we to do with words that were
felt as ag.-n. in O. E. In all other words of this category, the
association of the derived noun with its verb is lost, on account
of formal or semological differentiation.

Ablaut-   The morphological character of the discussed formations, as
grade of regards *Ablaut*, can only be settled after a broader investi-
masc. agen- gation working with Germanic material and considering also the
tial o-stems. nom. actionis. Different opinions have been expressed on this

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[1] Somebody may suggest such a word as *flēah* 'flea' : *flēon* II (generally
flēa, weak m. or f.), but that is probably an original cons. st., cp. NED. *flea*. —
Of course, it is possible that more minute researches than I have thought ne-
cessary to make for this preliminary part of my treatise may unearth some word
or other which is as worthy of consideration in this connection as, e. g. *bēaʒ*,
but other words than those given that were felt as ag.-n. in O. E. will probably
not be found. Cp. also the material given by Palmgren.

point by Jacobi[1] (pres.- or pret.-t.-vowel), Amelung[2] (p. ptc. vowel),
Zimmer (Ablaut varying and unessential), and v. Bahder (pret.- or
pa. ptc.-vowel, cp. above p. 21).[3] Here it may be quite enough
to state that, of the words given above (p. 24) as *possibly* agential
masc. *o*-stems, 1) *pret.-t.-vowel* occurs in *scræf*, *wearʒ*, *þwanʒ*, *scēat*,
wand, *bēaʒ*, *scear* and *wræc*: 2) *pres.-t.-vowel* occurs in *steort*, *bēod*,
sprēot, *hæf*, *flēot*, *drēor*, *-weald*, *hrūt* (in *hæf* and *-weald* = p.ptc.-
vowel), of which *flēot* and *drēor* reveal themselves as later forma-
tions beside forms with pret.-t.-vowel, cp. O. H. G. *flōz* and *trôr*
3) *p. ptc.-vowel* occurs in no case (except. where identical with pres.-t.-
vowel). This circumstance may be very inconclusive, yet it may
be noticed that it is in agreement with the rules given by
Brugmann (cp. above, p. 21) for I. E. words formed with *o*-suff.
in general. And a look at those words from Zimmer's material
(for all the Teutonic dialects) that are most likely to be original
ag.-n. will strenghten this conclusion. Thus, when v. Bahder (p. 42)
gives »*schwächste* oder mittlere stufe» and cites Osthoff, PBB 3,17 ff.
this is probably due to a misunderstanding of Osthoff on the part
of v. Bahder, who seems to have taken Osthoff's rule for the
ablaut of nom. ag. formed with -*an*- suff. to hold true for I. E.
agent-formations generally. Weak ablaut-vowel, at any rate,
occurs only exceptionally, as regards the Teutonic branch of the
I. E. languages[4].

As has already been indicated several times, many words that *Nom. actio-*
appear as ag.-n. in O. E. may be orig. nom. act. As a word of *nis > nom.*
that type, *borʒ* 'Bürge' has already been mentioned.[5] As another *ag.*
example of such a word, I may mention:
andfenʒ gl. *susceptor* Reg. Ps. 41[9], 53[6], 58[10, 17], 88[27], 90[2], 143[2],
Eadw. Ps. ib. and also 3[4], 45[8, 12], 118[114]. It occurs, besides, in its
original meaning of 'susceptio', e. g. Reg. Ps. 82[9] (Eadw. Ps. *on-
fengnes*). The usual ag.-n. is here *andfencʒa* or *an(d)fōnd*.

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[1] Untersuchungen über die Bildung d. Nomina in den germ. sprachen.
Breslau 1847 p. 15 ff.

[2] Über den Ursprung der deutschen a-Vokale. Hpt. Zs. XVIII p. 161 ff.

[3] Cp. also C. Palmgren (p. 23 f.) who gives a good account of different
opinions.

[4] In Greek, e. g., we also meet with formations of this type with weak
stem-vowel, and, when occurring, such formations easily allow of explanation.
Cp. Hirt, Handbuch d. griech. Laut- u. Formenlehre § 316. Brugmann, II: 1
§ 92 p. 155.

[5] Cp. also p. 28. foot-note 3.

Excursus.

Words of the type of ʒesīð.   There is a certain group of words — all desubstantive nouns — that, strictly speaking, must not be reckoned as nom. ag., though sometimes they have got a verb by their side; these nouns rather *characterize* the person in question than denote him as performing an action. Sometimes, it is true, they seem to have obtained a secondary function of expressing the performer of an action *by the side of* their specific and essential function, but that is due to the character of the primitive word of expressing some sort of action — for example, ʒesīð — or to (secondary) association with the verb from which the primitive word is derived — for example, possibly ʒebūr, ʒenēat. The words in question may, however, be given:

ʒebēor 'guest, conviva': bēor, 'beer', only in prose. e. g. Bd III 1042, Ælfc Hom. I 484[1], 528[9], 534[4] II 54[3]; Harl. gl. 213[15], Scint. 36 a and in many other places.

ʒebūr 'dweller, husbandman, farmer', as law-term 'Landmann untersten Freienstandes' (LIEBERMANN): būr, 'cottage, dwelling', not directly: būan, as BT. gives it. Prose-word, chiefly glosses: colonus ʒibuur Ep. 163, Co. C 513, Cl. gl. 276[7], 369[16] (ʒebyr): sumes rices mannes tun wæs, in þam his ʒebur hæfde snnu Greg. 11[4]; Assm. Ælfc XVIII 166.[1]

Cpp. nēahʒebūr 'neighbour', exceedingly common word. orig. nēah + ʒebūr,[1] and

tūnʒebūr 'a tenant in villenage'.

ʒelēod 'Landsmann': lēod 'people'. Occurs line 11.

ʒenēat, O. S. ganôt, O. Frs. nât, O. H. G. ganôz(o), O. N. nautr, fora-nautr: prim. Teut. *nautoz 'property', O. N. nautr m. 'wertvoller Besitz', cp. naut, n. 'Vieh', thus orig. meaning 'one who shares property with another'. Records: By. 310[2], Gen. B 284, lne 19, 22, Rect. 2. Also in cpp.

bēodʒenēat B. 343, 1713 and

heordʒenēat B. 261, 1580, 2180, 2418, 3179, By. 204.

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[1] Cp. KAUFFMANN, Altdeutsche Genossenschaften, Wörter u. Sachen 2 p. 28 ff.

[2] by some read cald ʒenēat.

The O. E. sense of the word is 'Gefolgsmann,-leute', esp. those of princes, but it is also a juridical term, 'Bauer vom Grossgut abhängig'.[1]

ʒesīð, O. S. *gi-sið*, O. Frs. *sið* 'Gefährte, companion', also 'Gefolgsadliger',[2] a very common word in O. E. poetry and prose. : O.E. *sīþ*, prim. Teut. *senþa - m. n. 'journey'; cp. Goth. *gasinþja* with *jan-*, and O. H. G. *gisindo* with *an*-formation. Cp. also the secondary verb *sīðian* 'to go, travel'.

Cpp. *ealdʒesīþ* B. 853, An. 1104; *dryhtʒesīþ* F. 42, and *folcʒesīþ*, both meaning 'nobles of the country' with a by-sense of 'warriors', Gen. 2134, Dan. 412, Metr. 1,70; *wēaʒesīþ* 'companion in misery and wickedness', Jud. 16, Wulfst. 145[4], 225[33], Nap. gl. 1,861; 2,18; *willʒesīþ* 'dear companion' B. 23, Gen. 2003.[3]

What is essential in the sense of the given words is, thus, *the participation* of the person *in the action, state*, etc., *expressed by the primitive word*. The prefix *ʒe- (ga-)* has much the same function as the suffix *-ing, -ung*, cp. O. H. G. *būring : gabūro, kuning : gakunni*, O. Frs. *hūsing:* O. E. *ʒehūsa*.[4] That a *ʒesīþ* does travel, perform the action of travelling, is unessential to the formation; what is important is that he is the *companion* of one travelling.

2. Neuter words.

Zimmer's collection of neut. words is, of course, smaller than that of corresponding m. words. A large number of his words are, moreover, substantivized adjs., which our definition of nom. ag. eliminates; others are obscured, as are also many of his "etymologisch klare Beispiele" — of the "dunkle Beispiele" we need not take any notice at all; some are wrongly classified as n. *o*-stems, e.g. *lamb*, and others are clear nom. actionis or nom. acti, e.g., *ʒebæc* 'baking' and 'batch'.[5] The words thus eliminated are enclosed in brackets.

Material discussed.

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[1] Cp. Kauffmann W. u. S. 2 p. 40 ff., who also translates 'Mitnutzer, Teilhaber am Wirtschaftsertrag', rejecting Meringer's explanation, Idg. Forsch. 18,248, 'Mitvieh'. 'Knecht'.

[2] Cp. Liebermann II : 2 p. 427 f. under 'Gefolgsadel'.

[3] To the given words such a form as *ʒefēres* , n. pl., Du. Ri. 12, does not belong, of course, since it is a *late* form of *ʒefēra, jan*-st.

[4] Kauffmann, W. u. S. 2, p. 28, and literature there quoted.

[5] The form *bæc* given by Zimmer is not recorded. — The sense of 'baking' given on the authority of Sw.; the only O. E. instance of the word, given by B. T., shows, however, only the sense of 'batch, that which ist baked'.

a) *Root intr.*

smolt 'Fett' [*col* 'coal', *þeorf* 'ungesäuertes Brot', *hæf* 'ferment' (see above under masc. *o*-st.), *ceaf* 'chaff', *blæc* 'ink', *mearʒ* 'marrow', *lamb, scanc* 'leg', *sæp* 'juice'], *hweorf* 'joint', *brim* 'surf, sea', *hæf* 'sea' *ʒēap* 'abyss, gate', *swip* 'whip', *ʒin* 'gulf', *lið* 'ship', 'people', *flot*, 'sea, fat' [*clif* 'promontorium',[1] *scot, dēop* 'abyss', *flēot* 'fleet' (see above under masc. *o*-stems.)].

b) *Root tr.*

him 'Eisdecke', *mæt* 'das abmessende und abgemessene', [*scip, sinc, þæc*,[2] *fæt, ʒeat, træf* 'tent', *hæt* 'hat', *sealt, scēap, fæc* 'space', *mealt, ʒemearr* 'obstacle', *bæc* (see above p. 33), *cræt* 'waggon, chariot', *hōp* 'circulus', *sār* 'wound', *ʒeoc* 'yoke', *ʒrēot, nēat*], *nip* 'obscurity, cloud', *hlið* 'lid'.

Besides the words given in brackets, we further eliminate:

a) *as non-existent:*

swip, only *swipu*, f.; *mæt; nip* (only *ʒenip*, cp. below: *him*, cp. O. N. *hem; hweorf*, only *ʒehweorf*, see b).

b) *as nothing but adj.*, possibly substantivized:

smolt, used substantively 'once' (Sw.); *ʒehweorf: ʒēap, ἄπ . λεγ* . recorded Ruine 31, where it may quite as well be regarded as an adj.

Instead of *lið* and *hlið*, read *lid* and *hlid*.

On the other hand, *scrid*, wrongly given as masc. by ZIMMER, belongs here.

For a more detailed discussion, as possible ag.-n. in O. E., thus remain:

brim, hæf, ʒin, lid, flot, ʒenip, hlid and *scrid*. Besides these words, I also give *fær* 'vehicle, ship' and *snid* 'saw'.

a) **Primitive word not recorded in O. E.**

brim, O. N. *brim*, n. 'surf, sea, ocean'. In late O. E. often pl. *brym-mas*, e. g. ceald (sic!) *brymmas* Eadw. 12 (A. D. 1065), but in older O.E. *brimu:* O. H. G. *breman* IV 'brummen', prim. Teut. **breman*.

In the whole of ZIMMER's material — of course setting aside substantivized adjs and uncertain words — there are only a very few n. words with *pres.-t.- vowel* to be found, viz. *brim*, O. N. *fljót*, (which was shown above, p. 29, to be due to change of gender in O. N.), O. N. *hem*, O. H. G. *sech* 'Pflugschar', and *gawer* 'weapon'. O. H. G. *gawer* reveals itself as a nom. actionis through its *ga*-prefix, and is also regarded as such by Kluge, Et. Wtb. (: *warjan*). When, further, we know that this is a usual and productive type of nom. actionis, it will be rather daring to assume that three isolated words, O. E. *brim*, O. H. G. *sech*, and

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[1] cp. *clifian* 'to adhere', another root.

[2] cp. secondary vb *þeccan*.

O. N. *hem*, represent another type, not recorded otherwise, when they can so easily be explained as original nom. actionis. Especially since, as far as the word *brim* is concerned, that explanation seems to be much more probable, since in O. E. it still means 'surf, brandung', a clear nom. actionis, then also 'sea, ocean': in that case, there is not even any necessity of assuming any change of sense from nom. act. > nom. ag. to have taken place.

b) **Primitive word still living in O. E.**

α) With pret.-t.-vowel.

hæf 'sea', poetical word: *hafjan* (Fick); 'das sich erhebende'. In O. E. certainly not associated with the vb (cp. *hæf* 'ferment', p. 26). Whether really originally agential sense is to be assumed, and not rather actional, may be left an open question. Cp. below.

This word is the only O. E. instance of this type. Zimmer gives, however, a fairly large number of such words from other Teut. dialects, though, of course, I can not here devote great attention to them. Yet so much seems to be clear that, after sifting the material according to the principles laid down, it will shrink considerably, and all the words then remaining will be found,

1) not to be nom. ag. in the dialects where they are recorded;

2) often to be nom. act. in these dialects, or to have another non-agential meaning;

3) easily to allow of being explained as original nom. act.

β) with pa.-ptc.-vowel.

ʒin, O. N. *gin* 'a gap, opening, abyss': *ʒinan* I 'to yawn'; *ʒarsecʒes ʒin* 'ocean's expanse' Ex. 430. Also an adj., of which it may be a substantivization.

hlid 'lid, cover', O. Frs. *(h)lid*, n., O. N. *hlið* 'gate', O. H. G. *hlit* : *hlidan* I 'to cover'

lid 'vessel, ship', poetical word:[1] *lidan* I 'to go, travel, chiefly by sea'. O. N. *lið* 'naval armament' has also been borrowed in O. E., Ags. Chron. A. D. 1069, but is a collective word.

cp. *ȳðlid* = prec. word. An. 278, 445. Also *ȳðlida*.[1]

scrid 'chariot'[2]: *scriðan*. Cp. O. E. *scride* 'Lauf', O. H. G. *scrit* 'schritt', O. N. *scriðr*.

flot 'sea, running water', poetical word: *flēotan* II, cp. secondary vb *flotian* 'to float'.

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[1] See Schnepper p. 52.

[2] Neuter gender is proved by *þæt scrid* Shrn 71,34. The p. ptc. vowel is shown by *screoda* Phar. 5.

fær 1) 'journey, expedition' 2) 'vehicle. vessel, ship'[1] : *faran* VI Cpp. **Ælfær** 'the whole army'; Ex. 67

[*emfar* 'small ship'; Aldh. laude virg. 669][2]

snid 'saw' : *snīþan* 'cut into, hew', cp. *snid* 'slice, cut', *snide* 'slaughter'.

All the quoted words will have been associated in O. E. with their primitive words, though, owing to the specialized concrete sense which they possess, the character of their sense in relation to the vb will not have been very prominent. In the words *hlid, lid, scrid,* and *fær* at least, the sense of nom. ag. is, however, fairly conspicuous. The question is, then, whether this is also their original sense, or whether it is due to change of meaning.

Original sense of the worde discussed. If we look at the material of *neut. o-stems* with *weak stem-vowel* in v. BAHDER and PALMGREN, we shall find many such formations with *abstract* sense. Only the said words are met with in O. E. with a *possibly agential* meaning, and of these four words, *fær* shows actional as well as agential meaning, the former of which is likely to be original, cp. such cpp. as *ūlfær, ūt~, in~, þurh~* etc. and also the variant *ʒefær.* Also the quoted cp. *ælfær* 'the whole army' will be originally actional, since its sense makes association with *fær* 'expedition', more natural than with *fær* 'ship'. As for *hlid,* it has a synonym *ʒehlid* by its side, of clearly actional origin. *ʒin,* if not an original adj., — as is probable — and *flot* are, of course, no more agential than actional, even from an O. E. point of view.

Thus, when now we find a large group of actional nouns of exactly this morphological structure, and only some very few words that, from an O. E. point of view, should rather be called agential, one should be cautious, in my opinion, in regarding these few words also as being originally agential, especially as in *lid* and *scrid,* the two most important cases, exactly the same change of meaning can occur as seems actually to have taken place in *fær.*[3]

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[1] See SCHNEPPER p. 49.

[2] According to SCHNEPPER, p. 50. Given by NAPIER in Anecd. Oxon. 1,669: circilo, i. navicula mid *emfare.* With NAPIER, note ib., I regard the gloss to be inflected form of *emfaru = ymbfaru* 'circuit'. gloss for circulo, which has been misread for circilo = navicula. The prefix is not to be accounted for otherwise.

[3] cp. of *i*-stems *byre* 'son' orig. 'birth'.

v. Bahder is evidently of the contrary opinion. He regards n. *actional* *o*-stems with weak stem-vowel as secondary formations. He thinks that original nom. ag. have changed sense and passed over into nom. act., whereupon the actional group thus formed has been enlarged by original *i*-stems passing into *o*-stems, thus forming together a productive type of word-formation. As belonging to prim. Teut. he regards only **buða* 'Gebot', **luka* 'Verschluss', **luba* 'Lob', perhaps also **ðulʒa* 'Wunde' and **skufa* 'Scherz', in which he sees original nom. ag., possibly nom. acti. I suppose that v. Bahder also regards the words given above as relics from such an original group of nom. ag., or does he regard them as Engl. new-formations — in that case of an abstract type — with change of sense, in the case of at least *lid, scrid, snid, fœr*, back to the original meaning of such words?

It seems *a priori* and in itself rather unlikely that this large group of nom. actionis in the old Teutonic vocabulary should have originated in a primitive agential group. And it seems also unlikely that the late n. gender, which was in Teut. particularly ascribed to abstract words, should in this case have been originally ascribed to nom. ag. Of course agential *adj.* could be *substantivized* in their neut. form, and thus this gender could indirectly be ascribed to ag.-n., but that is quite a different thing. What are, then, the reasons alleged by v. Bahder? Upon what does he support his opinion that the words in point start originally from an agential group, of which there are scarcely any traces left? The reason is that »dürfen wir in diesen (**luka* etc.) urspr. Nom. ag. sehen — -- —, so ordnen sie sich dem für diese bestehenden Bildungsgesetz (schwächste oder mittlere Wurzelstufe) unter, das auch bei den Nom. ag. auf -*an*- noch hervortritt, vgl Osthoff PBB III 17 ff.» [1] It is thus the weak vowel of these formations which leads v. Bahder to regard them as original nom. ag. Now, however, the weak vowel of such masc. nom. ag. is most problematical, as far as Germanic languages are concerned at least [2], and so the foundation on which his theory rests is by no means stable.

On the other hand, we often find a weak vowel in abstract formations, not only in *o*-stems, but also in other strong stems, above all in the *i*-stems. In the *o*-stems, strong stem-vowels certainly preponderate, but with many weak forms by their side, and

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[1] v. Bahder, p. 41 f.

[2] Cp. above, p. 31.

in the *ō*-stems, we also find a weak vowel, e. g. Goth. *us-waúrpa*, *ga-bruka*, O. E. *notu*, *rudu*, *hulu*, *trodu* (also *trod*, n.). How the origin of these neut. *o*-stems with weak vowel and almost exclusively abstract sense should be explained is an altogether different matter, the settling of which belongs to comparative grammar; but it seems unlikely, from a Germanic point of view, that they should come from nom. ag., since, as has already been said, weak vowel is not original in those either, nor can be shown for certain to have existed at all in the Teutonic languages. Whether thus, e. g., the words discussed are to be supposed to start from original *ō*-formations and then to have developed further on the lines supposed by v. Bahder — cp. Goth. *gabruka* f., O. E. *ʒebroc* n., O. E. *trodu* f. and *trod* n. and other words —, or whether they have originated in some other way is, then, a question which I leave altogether open.

To sum up: of words formed originally with suffix -*o* only a very few are met with in O. E. as living nom. ag., viz. the m. words **hrūt, scear, flēot** and possibly, or probably, **wræc** and **scrīc**[1] and the neut. words **hlid, lid** (*ȳð* ~), **scrid, fær** 'ship' (*œl* ~), **snid** (or rather instrumental). How far the O. E sense also represents the original one is often uncertain.

Of other originally agent-forming suffixes, there is not much to be said from an O. E. point of view. The bulk of the words formed with

II. Suffix I. E. -i-

are nom. actionis. The words belonging here have also been rendered very distinct from the primitive word, on account of the *i*-mutation, though the numerous nom. act. formed with weak vowel represent a living and productive type of word-formation in O. E. Von Bahder[2] regards as original nom. ag. such *i*-stems as have "starke oder gesteigerte Wurzelform". We should thus get a few O. E. *i*-stems that are original nom. ag. and have the vb from which they are derived still living side by side with them.

smīc (**smīec*) 'smoke' < **smauki-* : *smēocan* II 'to smoke'.
rēc (**rīec*) 'smoke' < **rauki-* : *rēocan* II 'to smoke'.
lēod 'prince' : *lēodan* 'to grow'.[3]

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[1] Cp. above p. 30.
[2] Verbalabstrakta p. 34.
[3] Cp. above p. 22.

beliʒ 'bellows' < **balʒi-* : *belʒan* III, orig. 'to swell', in O. E. only 'to be angry'.

bend 'ribbon, band' : *bindan*, which, however, shows not only m., but also f. and n. gender (cp. Goth. *bandi*, f.).

In none of the words given is an agential sense *felt* in O. E.

III. Suffix I. E. -ter-

is possibly met with in *ealdor* and *bealdor*, of which the latter is an exclusively poetical word. As for these words, cp. above, p. 19. KLUGE, St. I. § 30, SIEVERS PBB V 523. In O. E. not felt as ag.-n., nor as formed with a suffix O. E.-*dor*, but rather as formed from the adj. *eald* and *beald*. Note such glosses as Reg. Ps. 104,22: *aldras* ł *yldran* seniores: generally *ealdor* is used as gloss to L. princeps.

IV. Suffix I. E. -t-,

which is common and productive in Scand. languages (poetry) in the form *-ufr -afr*, is probably to be found in O. E. *hacod* (*hæced*) 'pike': Teut. **hac-* 'hervorspringen, -ragen, spitz sein?'[1] and *metod* 'creator', O. H. G. *metod*, O. N. *mjotuðr*[2] : *metan* V, of which two words only the latter has the primitive word retained in O. E.; yet the records do not show agential character to be particularly prominent in O. E. *Metod*, which is also recorded as an adj., e. g. se *metoda* Drihten (Ælfc.), occurs only in poetry[3], where it is very usual[4] throughout the O. E. period, e. g., *metudes* mæcti Cædm. 2; hælend wæs middan ʒeardes *meotud* Jü. Ger. 65. It is almost exclusively used of *God*, sometimes also of *fate;* so B. 2527, Seef. 116 (in apposition to *wyrd*), possibly also B. 706 and 907; cp., too, the much discussed passage, Wald. A 19.

Other original *t*-formations have become extinct in O. E., and other words have been substituted for them, e. g., O. H. G. *sceffidh*, O. E. only *sceppend, scyppend* (also O. H. G. *scephant*), O. H. G. *leitid*, cp. O. E. *lāttēow, lūdman*, or some such word.[5]

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[1] FICK 66. As for O. E. records of this word and etymology, see KÖHLER, Ae. Fischnamen, p. 40 ff.

[2] For this much discussed word, see PBB IV 210; XVIII 180, 188; FICK I⁴ 512; Anglia 35,124.

[3] Exceptionally in prose, Boeth. 136¹⁹.

[4] e. g. Dan. 27 times.

[5] Quite obscured, though originally belonging here, is O. E. *hæle(ð)* 'man'.

Another word that has been formed in accordance with a
common Teut. type, with suff. *I. E. -ti*, an abstract word, con-
sequently, is *scrift* 'penance': *scrīfan* 'to impose penance; to shrive'
(< L. *scribere*). With change of meaning this word also occurs, and
is even rather usual, in the sense of 'confessor, priest who hears
confession'[1], and then stands as a sort of ag.-n. to the vb *scrīfan*.

V. s-formations.

The words of this category, or rather these categories, are all
dubious and debatable. O. E. *hæʒtesse, hæʒtes, haegtis, haehtisse*
is interpreted as an orig. ag.-n. by Noreen[2], who derives it from
haʒa-hatissa : Goth. *hatan* 'anfeinden', an etymology which is, how-
ever, most uncertain.[3] For the first part of the cpp. *corxnawanʒ*
("< *ne werkusan*") the same explanation has been given[4], which is
most unlikely. [On the other hand, O. E. **ēʒesa*, referred to by
Noreen ibid. and Reinius, ibid. (from Grein, Sprachschatz), must be
left out of discussion in this connection, as the record in question,
B. 1757, is now interpreted otherwise[5]. Cp., however, O. S. *ēgiso*.[6]]
Perhaps another word deserves mention here, viz. **forleʒis(s)** f.
'harlot', which word ought even in O. E. to have been felt as an
ag.-n. of *forlieʒan*. I give the records of the word: *nsg.* prosti-
tuta *forliʒes* Cl. gl. 499[11]; *asg.* mecham *forleʒisse* Cl. gl. 441[33] (cp.
mecharum dyrnlicendra 441[32]), Cl. gl. 523[34]; *þa forleʒisse* Past.
353[19]; *gsg. forleʒisse* Past. 403[17]; *dsg.* (be Marian) *þære forleʒisse*
Past. 411[10]; *dpl.* prostitutis *forleʒesum* Cl. gl. 513[5]. Thus the O.E.
form of the word is evidently *forleʒis(s)*; the once recorded *for-
liʒes* is easily to be accounted for as being influenced by the vowel
of the primitive word *forlieʒan*; the ending *-es* for *-is* will be due
to attraction from such words as the synonymous *ciefes (ce-
fes)* 'Kebse' and also *ides*. I am inclined to regard this word as
a formation of this type, with fem. *-iō-* extension (cp. Gothic *bē-*

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[1] e. g. Blickl. Hom. 43[20], 193[22], BCS. II 339[4,3] (A. D. 928) and many other
places.

[2] IF. IV, p. 324 ff. where he gives a discussion of these cases (orig. pa.
ptc. act.)

[3] See for this word Hessels, Leid. Gloss., p. 229, and the literature there
quoted, esp. Franck.

[4] By J. Reinius, Anglia 19, p. 554 f. Cp. on this word also Ark. X 74,
note, and (latest explanation) Anglia 33, p. 467 ff.; 34, p. 528 (Ritter).

[5] Cp. Holthausen, Beow. II, p. 235, and literature there quoted.

[6] Gallée, Vorstudien, p. 52, and literature there quoted.

rusjōs), in which case we must certainly assume the form *-yes* of the suffix, which has not otherwise been shown to exist in Teut. (generally *-us-*), since *forleʒis* with this etymology must be < *-laʒues-iō* with ʒ in O. E. for *w*, on account of influence from the vb and the adj. *forliʒer*.

An original *s*-suffix with ag.-forming function is certainly also to be seen, with the old etymology, in *wœfs* 'wasp' < *ụabso* : *ụeban* O. E. *wefan* 'weben', meaning, consequently, 'weaver'[1].

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[1] See CORTELYOU, p. 40, and literature there quoted.

The word *brimisa* Leid. gl. XLVII 82 (HESSELS; SWEET prints *briusa*) is not O. E. According to HESSELS the Ms. has: *priụsa* (brimisa) with *b* written above *p*, which is crossed out, and *mi* written above *u*, which is pointed. Now, Leid. contains G. and Engl. glosses, so there is no difficulty in explaining the word, cp. O. H. G. *primisa*, *brimissa*, O. L. G. *brimissia*, O. N. *brims*, cp. O. E. always *briosa*, N. E. *breeze* 'gadfly'. The word belongs to O. H. G. *breman* 'brummen' (for another possibility, see WEIGAND 'bremse'), prim. Teut. *bremesjā*, and ought, if it were an O. E. word, to have the form *brimis(s)*. How N. E. *brims*, on the other hand, is to be explained (if from Scand.) may here be left undecided. An O. E. form *brimse*, f., often given in etymological dictionaries (FRANCK, WEIGAND) is non-existent.

Chapter I: Nomina agentis with l=suffix.

Introductory remarks.

Different functions of the suffix. Even in I. E. times, the suffix *-lo-* was used to form noun-derivatives from both *nouns* and *verbs*.[1] When forming derivatives from nouns, its function was preferably to form *diminutives*, generally with the same gender as the primitive word; when forming derivatives from verbs it serves to form *nom. ag. adj. and sb.* How far Teut. substantival ag.-n. are original adjectival ones is a question which often cannot be decided, and which will not be made the subject of an investigation here.[2]

By the side of the masc. ag.-n. in *-lo-*, there often existed in I. E. *neut. instr. -nouns* in *-lo-m*, which old neut. nouns have not seldom changed genders and become masc. And then original ag.-n. have often, with a slight modification of sense, developed into instr.-nouns. It will then be found that it is extremely difficult to keep agential and instrumental nouns in *-(i)lo* apart in an old Teutonic dialect.[3] It might, indeed, be advisable to treat of ag.-n. and instr.-n. in *-(i)lo* in common, but then these semological categories often represent different morphological groups as

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[1] BRUGMANN II: 1, § 360 ff.

[2] Cp. O. E. *sticel* 'a goad, sting, that with which a prick may be given', O. H. G. *stihhil*, O. N. *stikill* 'pointed end of a horn' and Skr. (av.) *tigra-* 'sharp', an adj. BRUGMANN § 262).

Another example of an O. E. word which can be regarded as a substantival ag.-n. made directly from the verb, or as a substantivized adj., is *wencel, wincel* sb. 'child, maidservant', cp. *wencel*, adj. (poetry) 'weak' ; prim. Teut. *uenkan* III 'sich seitwärts bewegen, wanken', O. K. G. *winchan*. O. E. *wincan *wanc (M. E. *winken*). prim. Teut. form of the noun, consequently, *uenkila (> *wincel*), *uankila (> *wencel*). The neut. gender of the word speaks for the latter alternative, i. e., that the sb. is an original adj. (perhaps attribute of *cild*). — HÖGE, "Deminutivbildungen im Me." p. 16, assumes O. E. *wincel*, M. E. *wenchel* to be a *diminutive* of the M. E. *wenche* 'ancilla'. Now M. E. *wenche*, N. E. *wench* and M. E. *wenchel*, O. E. *wincel*, are exactly the same word in different dialectal forms, cp. O. E. *mycel* > M. E. dial. *muche* > N. E. *much*.

[3] cp. WILMANN'S § 205 4) and § 207 anm. 2.

well, and so it would take us too far to include them. In the following pages, therefore, only those derivatives in -(i)lo have been considered for which agential character is absolutely certain — so the majority of person-, animal- and plant-designating words, though sometimes also instr., e. g., *tæsel* 'teazle' — or at least most likely. For the rest, I must restrict myself to a general admission of the theoretical possibility that many sb. which were no doubt nom. instr. to O. E. conception were originally nom. ag.

Besides, the suffix is met with in a number of "*Konkretbenennungen*",[1] as Goth. *stōls*, O. E. *sāl*, G. *seil*, or the still more obscure O. E. *tunʒol*, *næʒl*, *seʒl*, in many, or perhaps most, of which no doubt instrumental derivatives are to be traced. By changes of sense many different sense-relations have been created between the vb and the derived word, and so the suffix has obtained the variety of special functions which it shows in the Teut. languages, e. g., designating locality (*botl*, *setl*), clothing (*ʒeʒyrla*), etc.[2]

Finally, the suffix is also used to form *abstract words, nom. actionis*, a very old function of the suffix,[3] which we meet with in a considerable number of formations in O. E., e. g. *æfwierdla*, *æwyrdla* 'injury, loss': *wierdan*, *fyndele* 'invention': *findan*.[4]

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[1] KLUGE, St. b.-l. § 89.

[2] KLUGE, ibid.

[3] from which, for instance, the Armenian inf. in -*lo* have been developed, cp. BRUGMANN II; 1 p. 375.

[4] Concerning the original meaning of *lo*-formations, OSTHOFF, Forschungen I, p. 188, (with reference among other things to the different meanings of the adj. formed with *l*-suff. e. g. L. *bibulus*, Goth. *sakuls*, O. E. *slāpol* with active, but L. (bibilis, docilis), *stragulus* 'zum unterbreiten dienlich' with passive sense in relation to the vb), maintains that the original meaning was something between active and passive, yet with "grösserer Hinneigung zum actiwischen Sinne". "Die Vollziehbarkeit des Verbalbegriffes war es wohl was als ursprüngliche Funktion in ihnen lag."

Without entering upon a discussion of this problem, or upon the question whether the different functions of the suffix can be traced back to one common primitive function. I may be allowed to draw attention to a few O. E. -*ilo*-sb. which have a passive meaning in relation to the vb. They denote the result of the action expressed by the verb and can thus be regarded as nom. acti. Such words, all formed in pre-English times are, e.g.:

rysel 'fat', O. S. *rusal*: Teut. *rus-*'reissen' (FICK 353), thus originally 'abgerissenes Stück, rohes Stück Speck'. Concerning the form of the word, see WEYHE PBB 30,128.

scitel 'dung': *scitan* (y for i; Sw. assumes, wrongly (inadvertently), a derivation from *scēotan*).

Concerning the suff. *-lo-* in O. E. as forming *nom. instr.* and
"*Konkretbenennungen*" in general, I refer to Both and Brasch (Both
gives very numerous examples of such words); as forming *abstract
words*, to Thiele, ibid. (some 40 words); as forming *adj.*, to Schön
(some 90 words, the majority of which show the form in *-ol*); and
as forming *diminutive words*, to Eckhardt (some 40 appellatives
and a great number of proper names).

I. Function of nomina agentis obscured.

A. Primitive words extinct in O. E.

1. Suffix prim. Teut. -lo.

*Material
discussed.* There are no words belonging with certainty here. As for
eorl and *ceorl*, which are probably formations of another type, see

> *trendel* 'ring, circle' M. L. G. *trendel* 'Scheibe', M. H. G. *trendel, trindel*, O.H.G.
> *trennila*, f. 'ball' (desubst. verb O.H.G. *trennilōn* 'to turn', O. E. *ā-trend-
> lian*) : Teut. **trennan* III 'sich trennen; absondern', orig. 'abgetrenntes
> Stück, Scheibe'. — Skeat (and also Both, p. 4) assumes an O. E. vb **trin-
> dan* III, 'to roll', and seems to regard *trendel* as a derivative from this
> vb or from an adj. derived from this vb.; cp. Sw. *trind*, O. Frs. *trund*.
> For the existence of such a vb, assumed only *ad hoc*, no evidence at all
> can be brought forward, however. Cp. Falk-Torp sub 'trind'.
> *windel* 'basket' gloss. cartellus. corbis, O, N. *rǫndull* 'a bundle (of hay)', O.H.G.
> *wintila. windila*. f. 'Windel': *windan* III, is regarded by Falk (p. 39) as
> a "nom. instr. zweifelhafter natur". Perhaps originally 'etwas zusammen-
> gewundenes' (Fick 390).
> *mæstel* in *mæstel-bearʒ* 'a fattened barrow, pig' will rather be a denominative
> formation : *mæst* m. 'mast, fruit of trees used for feeding swine', than a
> formation of the type under discussion; in such a case from the secondary
> vb *mæstan* 1, 'to fatten'.
> There may be still more words that allow of a similar interpretation; my
> intention is only to call attention to the group.
> It is, of course, not certain that these are relics in a Teut. dialect of old
> *lo*-formations with passive sense (cp. Osthoff, ibid., who especially points
> out the occurrence of such words in Lith. languages). They may represent
> orig. nom. actionis, with change of sense, or nom. instr. There certainly may
> be cases where a *nom. instr.* passes over into a *nom. acti*, even without
> any change of sense at all. I cite the *O. E. wyrpel* 'ein um die Füsse des
> Falken geschlungener Riemen' (cp. Swaen ESt. 37 p. 195 ff.). O.N. *verfill*, M.L.G.

etymological dictionaries.[1] With the etymology given by Wood,[2]
the word *ʒīs(e)l*, 'hostage' should belong here, O. H. G. *gīsal*, O. N.
gīsl etc., O. Ir. *giall*, all < I. E. * *gheislo* 'anhaftend, zurückbleibend':
L. *hæreo*.

2. Suffix prim. Teut. -ilo, -ilō(n).

a) -ilo.

emel 'caterpillar'. Forms: *aemil* Ep. Erf. 484; *æmil* Erf. 257; *emil*
Co. C 943 and in other places; *emel* (usual form) e. g. Greg.
67[11]; *ymel* Greg. 67[7] Ms. O.; Ælfc gr 35[7]; Addit. Ms. 164₅.[3]

The form *ymel* is supposed by Cort., ibid., to be "umge-
kehrte Schreibung", against which assumption the occurrence
in three mss. (non-Kent.) speaks. It seems preferable to as-
sume another gradation-form, thus *umilo, beside *amilo, which
is quite permissible with the etymology given below, since
O. E. *ōm* 'rust' is traced to the same root,[4] thus indicating
the series of 'Ablaut' of verbal class IV.

Cort., who declares the etymology to be unknown, compares
the word with M. L. G. *emel-te* and N. L. G. *ämel, emel* 'Blatt-
laus'.[5]

: Teut. *am-*, O. N. *ama* 'plague, harass', Skr. *ámiti* 'bedrängt,
beschädigt'; orig. meaning thus 'injurer, damager'.[6]

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worpel < prim. Teut. **ṇarpila, ṇṇrpila* (Fick 398) or O. E. *scytel* 'missile, dart,
arrow', O. N. *skutill* 'Wurf, Schusswaffe; Riegel' < *scutila. These are evi-
dently original nom. instr., but ought in O. E. to have been felt rather as nom.
acti, though, of course, the association with the verb was not very strong, on
account of the specialized concrete sense of the sb. The corresponding verbs
were, in fact, originally construed with the instr. case, but have passed in O. E. into
tr. vbs — *scēotan* always, *weorpan*, almost always with acc. of the thing thrown;
cp. O. N. still with dat. —. and then the thing thrown, i. e., the corresponding
sb. must have undergone a similar change of sense in relation to the verb,
practically without changing sense at all.

[1] As for the signification in O. E. of the words. See Liebermann II: 1 and
II: 2 under these words.

[2] PBB 24,530. So also Walde sub 'hæreo'.

[3] Complete records and discussion of sense in Cort. 51, where only the
record Addit. Ms. *(ymel)* is missing. The form *amelum*, which he gives from
Greg. 67[11] Ms. C, is wrong, as was already pointed out by Schlutter, ESt. 38,298.

[4] cp. Fick 16.

[5] Can Sw. dial. (Värml.) *älme*, f. 'larva of death's-head moth' be com-
pared, in such a case, with metathesis?

[6] So also Botu, p. 8.

iȝil, il 'hedgehog'. Forms: *iȝil, iȝl, il, iil, yl,* with the contracted
   form even in the earliest records.[1]   O. H. G. *igil,* O. N. *igull*
   (ī secondary).

   : √*egh-* 'stechen', cp. Gr. ἔχις 'nadder'.[2]

sprindel 'tenterhook' (Sw.),[3] 'snare (for catching birds)' (SCHLUTTER's
   translation and mine). Records: tenticum *sprindil* Ep. Erf.
   1025; tenticum *sprindel* Co. T 88; tenticum *spindel*[4] Cl. gl. 278³.

   Both lemma and gloss occur only in the passages quoted.
   SWEET's justification for his translation of the word is unknown
   to me.   SCHLUTTER[5] refers the gloss to Aldh. 14,₁₈ ed. GILES:
   tendiculum elationis connectal; he reads the gloss: *tendiclum
   sprincel,* and translates it 'Dohne, Sprenkel', a translation which
   I have adopted above, though I retain the form of the gloss.
   Cp. for the lemma: tendiculum quo aves capiuntur Leid. XXIX
   23; tendiculum gl. decipulam rete ł laqueum quod tenditur
   leporibus ł avibus, marg. þelman, snearan ł wocie Hpt. gl.
   429 a; for the gloss: N. E. dial. *sprindle* beside the more usual
   springle, both meaning 'a snare for birds made with a pliant
   stick and a noose'.[6]   That the given lemma *tenticum* and the
   common L. word *tendiculum* will be identical in meaning,
   perhaps also in form (*tenticum* a miswriting or a form assumed
   from *tendiculum*), seems thus to be placed beyond all doubt.

   SCHLUTTER's change of *sprindel* into *sprincel* is also rendered
   quite unnecessary by the quoted N. E. dial. form, and by the
   natural etymology of the word.[7]

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[1] For complete records, see JORDAN. p. 73.

[2] FICK 23.

[3] And so also, after him, other scholars, e. g., BRASCH, who translates 'Spann-
haken'.

[4] That N. E. *spindle* is not meant here appears not only from the lemma,
but also from the form, since this word is always *spinele* in O. E. without *d,*
e. g., fuso *spinele* Cl. gl. 504⁵, fusus *spinl* Ælfc. gr. 30¹⁰. The form *spindel*
in the above record will have to be explained as due to careless copying, *r*
having been omitted after the paleographically similar *p,* or it should be com-
pared to *specan* for *sprecan.*

[5] ESt. 43,₃₂₂.

[6] WRIGHT, Dial. Dict. sub 'sprindle'.

[7] RITTER, Arch. 120, ₁₃₀ f., gives some exx. from Engl. dial., where *-dl*
   -gl. among which he mentions *sprindle* 'snare for birds' ⁓ *springle.* As
appears from the above, this instance is probably irrelevant; it is quite un-
necessary to take such a roundabout way, when O. E. *sprindel* and N. E. dial.
sprindle are recorded in the same sense.

: Teut. *sprend-*, by-form of *sprent-* in *sprentan* 'jump up, spring up', O. N. *spretta*,[1] cp. O. E. *sprind* 'lively', also *sprinʒd*, by association with *sprinʒan, āsprindlad* 'ripped up'. The word thus means 'a thing that starts up (by its elasticity)', cp. Sw. *sprättbåge*, 'bow (starting up at the moment of shooting)'[2]

wifel, by-form of *wifer* 'arrow, dart, javelin'. Record: spiculo (gl. pectato) ʒare and *wifele* Hpt gl. 432[53].

: Teut. *ꬶeb-* 'sich hin und her bewegen, wabern', cp. O. E. *wafian, wǣfre*, and see next word[3].

wifel 'weevil, beetle', O. S. *wibil*, O. L. G. *wivil*, O. H. G. *wibil*, O. N. *ẏfill* (< *-uifill*[4]): Lith. *vabalas*.[5]

NOREEN,[6] KLUGE,[7] CORTELYOU[8], and others suppose *web-il-as* :

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[1] Cp. FICK, p. 517, PERSSON Beiträge, p. 873; BRASCH, p. 139.

[2] I may be allowed in this connection to say a few words about SCHLUTTER's word *sprincel*, which also occurs in the glossaries, e. g., fiscillis *sprinclum* Co. F 171, fiscilis *sprinclum* Cl. gl. 403[8]. Also in these records of the word SCHLUTTER sees the sense of 'Dohne, Sprenkel', and that in spite of the following facts:

1) that *fiscillus* (= fiscella) is otherwise glossed *tænel* (Cl gl 403[1]) and *stictænel* (Co. F 166, Cl. gl. 403[2]);

2) that the source of these glosses is Aldh. 36,7 : refertis fiscillis onustisque corbibus;

3) that SCHLUTTER finds the explanation given by KLUGE, Furn. Misc., p. 200 'wicker basket' (: *sprinca, spranca = tænel : tān*) "ansprechend" and admits its possibility.

SCHLUTTER, starting from LITTRÉ, assumes that N. Fr. *ficelle < filicellum* 'bindfaden' has come into contact, during its development, with L. *fiscella* 'korb'; and that, consequently, the gloss-word fiscellis has had two senses, which *two* senses in the glossaries were originally rendered by *tænel uel sprincel* rendering one sense each, whereupon later copyists will sometimes have omitted one or the other. Deprived of the support of a necessary change *sprindel > sprincel* in the passages discussed, this explanation is as uncalled for as it is unfounded. LITTRÉ, referred to by SCHLUTTER, does not give any sense of 'Sprenkel, Dohne' for L. filicellus, Fr. ficelle, and that sense must at least be shown to exist beside 'Bindfaden', before such a supposition is made. In what I have said I have not at all denied the possibility that N. E. *spryncle = sprynge* 'snare for birds' goes back to an O. E. **sprincel* with this sense, since an O. E. *sprincel* : Teut. **sprenc-*, by-form of **sprenʒ-*. N. E. *springle*, can be an altogether analogous formation to O. E. *sprindel : sprent- sprend-*.

[3] Cp. WEYHE PBB 30,107, and literature there quoted.

[4] NOREEN, An. Gr. § 71, Anm. 4.

[5] For O. E. records and cognate words, see CORTELYOU, p. 23 f.

[6] Urg. Lautl. 72.

[7] KLUGE, Et. Wb. 'Wiebel'.

[8] CORT. ibid. (p. 23 f.).

Teut. *ueb-* 'weave', thus originally meaning 'weaver', referring
to the process of pupation. Fick[1] suggests *ueb-* 'sich hin u. her
bewegen' (cp. prec. word), M. H. G., N. H. G. *weben* 'move'.[2]
The name of 'weaver' seems not to be very natural as regards
beetles, whereas the rapidity with which the different little
insects of this group generally move, scamper off, dart away,
might quite naturally have given rise to the denomination.
From a morphological point of view, both interpretations are
equally possible.

wincel, **wencel**, neut. 'child; maidservant' with neut. gender from
cild, unless, which is more likely, the word is to be regarded
as a substantivization of the adj. *wencel*.

: Teut. *uenkan* 'totter; waver'. M. E. *winken, wenchen*.[3]

wiðerwenʒel 'foe, enemy, adversary'[4], glossing *adversarius* three
times in Reg. Ps: nsg. *wiðerwenʒel* 73,10; apl. *wiðerwenʒlas*
Hy. 4,7; dpl. *wiðerwenʒlum* Hy. 6,27. Morsbach[5] gives as a
possible etymology ("vielleicht") *wenʒel* : *wanʒe*, n. 'Wange' =
'jemand der der Wange des andern feindlich gegenübersteht'.
If a desubstantive formation is to be assumed, I wonder whether
another derivation is not to be preferred, viz. : *wanʒ*, m.' field,
place', thus meaning 'one who is in the opposite field, place'.
However, both these possibilities seem unlikely to me. The
word, which is apparently a very old one, will be best ac-
counted for as an agential formation from the verb that is the
primitive word of the O. E. adj. *wōh* 'crooked; wrong, unjust',
as sb. 'wrong, wickedness', O. S. *wāh* 'Übel Böses' (<*uanχ*),
cp. Skr. *vañcati* 'geht krumm', *vañcayati* 'weicht aus, ent-
wischt, betrügt'.[6] It thus seems as if the figurative sense of
'übel handeln', or something like it, occurred very early beside
the original one of 'krumm gehen, sein', and, to a verb with
this sense, *wenʒel* will have been an ordinary ag.-n.[7] As
wenʒel later on became morphologically isolated, on account

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[1] Fick, p. 391.

[2] Cp. on this word-group also Persson, Beitr., p. 235 ff.

[3] Cp. above, p. 42.

[4] Not given in any dictionary.

[5] in a foot-note, p. 280 of Roeder, Reg. Ps.

[6] For other cognate words with this etymology see Fick, p. 389.

[7] It ought also to be noted that *wiðerwenʒel* is only recorded as meaning
an 'adversary of God', consequently in a sense that stands very near to the
original one of 'übel handelnd, böser'.

of the sound-development of the nearest cognate words (*wōh*),
its sense became uncertain, and it assumed the prefix *wiðer-*
from the synonymous, or nearly synonymous, words, *wiðer-
broca* (-*breca*), *wiðerwinna*, *wiðersaca*, *wiðercora*.

The word is almost extinct in O. E., as appears from its
rare use as compared with the synonyms given, and also
from the facts that: a) in Reg. Ps. 73,₁₀ the copyist of Ms. H,
who follows Ms. D. very closely, writes only *wiðer-*, as if the
rest of the word were unintelligible to him: b) in Stowe Hy.
4,₇ *wenʒlas* shows traces of erasure. [1]

b) -ilō(n).

(*eʒl*), *eʒle* 'a mote; ail, awn, beard of barley'; 'talon, claw' [2].
: √*egh* 'stechen, scharf sein', prim. Teut. **aʒilō(n)* 'was sticht,
was scharf ist'; cp. O. H. G. *ahil*, (N. H. G. *achel*[3]) with di-
vergence of consonants in accordance with VERNER's law. Cp.
Sw. dial. *ägil* 'tender crop'. [4]

As identical with preceding word JORDAN [5] regards

eʒle 'Haselmaus, dormouse' [6]. Forms: *eʒlae* Ep. 470, *eʒilae* Erf. ib.,
otherwise *eʒle*. At any rate, both words belong to the same
root.

hydele, hnydele, a plant-name (COCKAYNE: Cochlearia Anglica). Records:
ʒenim - - hæwenne hnydelan [7] Lacn. 122 [8]: to sealfe sceal - - -
hæwene hnydele Lacn. 132[5]; herba britannica þæt is *hæwen
hydele* Herb. Apul. 16₃; *ʒenim þa wyrte þe grecas britannice*
and *enʒla hæwen hydele* nemneð (nsg.; so often after *nem-*

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[1] SCHLUTTER, ESt. 38, ₂₄ f., accepts MORSBACH's etymology and adduces in
support N. E. 'to face the storm', but suggests at the same time the possibility of
reading *wiðerwendel* (: **wiðerwendan*) or *wiðerwrenʒel* (cp. N. E. *wrangle*
and M. L. G. *weder wranglen* 'reluctari'). The last emendation is rather attrac-
tive, though the occurrence three times of *wiðerwenʒel* seems to make that
form certain.

[2] For forms and records, see WEYHE, PBB 30, p. 125; according to him,
the syncopation is regular in the combination -ʒil- after a short stem-syllable and
seems to have taken place as early as the first half of the 8th century.

[3] Cp. JORDAN, Ae. Säugetiernamen p. 80. For the whole word-group, cp.
also FICK p. 7, PERSSON Beitr. p. 724.

[4] HELLQUIST, Ark. 13.₂₈₄ may be compared. Cp. also KERN ESt. 36, p. 114
and p. 37, p. p. 456, 460 (GLOGGER and KERN).

[5] Ae. Säugetiernamen, p. 80.

[6] This sense is rejected by SCHLUTTER, Anglia 30, p. 246.

[7] COCKAYNE gives, wrongly, *hæwene*, and so after him WEYHE PBB 30, p.
104. Ms. here has *hydelan*, with *n* written above the *y*.

[8] Ms. V has *hydela*.

nan) Herb. Apul. 126⁶;[1] *hæwen hydele* (heading) Herb. Apul. 126⁴.

Weyhe, ibid., p. 104, explains the different forms by assuming that in the *cp.*, i. e. in *hæwenhnydele*, *n* has been dropped by dissimilation — which may be possible, since the sb. occurs only in combination with that adj., inflected or not — and that the form *hydele* has originated in that way. However, such an assumption is not quite necessary, since we can very well have to do with two different formations, viz.

: Teut. *hnuð, *hneuðan*, 'stossen, schlagen', O. N. *hnióða*, O. H. G. *hneotan*, cp. also O. H. G. *hnotôn* 'schütteln', M. E. *nodden*, N. E. *nod*², and

: Teut. *huð, 'schütteln', occurring in L. G. *hudern* 'vor Kälte zittern', Norw. *hutre*, L. G. *hotten*, M. H. G. *hutzen*³.

The words may thus be formed from two different roots actually existing in Teut., in both cases meaning 'die Schüttelnde'. For such double formations, which are by no means rare, cp., e. g., the above discussed O. E. *sprindel*, N. E. *sprindle*, and N. E. *springle*, or O. E. *zærshoppa* and *zærsstapa*, etc.

Another thing that seems hitherto to have escaped notice is the alternatively *masc.* gender of the word. Note, in the records above, *hæwenne hnydelan* Lacn. 122⁸, *hæwen hydela* Herb. Apul. 16₃ Ms. V, and *hæwen hudela* (wrongly copied for *hydela*) Herb. Apul. 126⁴ Ms. O, thus recorded 3 times.[4]

Most uncertain, if really belonging here at all, is.

cwydele 'inflamed swelling, boil', glossing carbunculus, pustula and varix Ælfc voc. 112¹⁶ and 161¹⁷. As O. E. "standard form" is to be regarded with Bt. Suppl. *cwidele* (with *y* < *i* after *w*);[5] O. H. G. *chwedilla* 'Hautbläschen'

: √*gŭet* : *gut* schwellen, with original sense of 'etwas Schwellendes'.[6] O. E. *cwidele* < *cwedilōn, O. H. G. *chwedilla* < **cwaþliō(n)*.[7]

[1] 126⁴, *hæwen* corrected to *hæwenen*, Ms. H.: 126⁴ *hudela* Ms. O.

[2] Fick p. 100. Cp. NED *nod* "with uncertain etymology".

[3] Fick p. 92.

[4] The explanation of the two genders (*h(n)ydele*, -*a*) will certainly be found in the great age of the word. It will go back to the period when in the *n*-stems the masc. and fem. genders had not yet developed two different paradigms.

[5] Bülbring, Ae. Elem. b. § 283.

[6] Fick p. 60 after Wood, MLN XIX 1 ff.

[7] Weyhe, PBB XXX 104.

pinewincle (-a?) 'periwinkle, winkle, a mollusc', N. E. dial. 'penny-
winkle'. Records: ostran and crabban, muslan, *pinewinclan* [1]
gl. torniculi Coll. Ælfc 94[14]; chelio testudo uel marina gugalia,
sæsnæl uel *pinewinclan* Ælfc voc. 122[24]; cwice *wine winclan*
Lcb. 10[8]; *sæwinewinclan* 72[16] (= Cock. II 240[4]; see his foot-note
on that page); ostran and *winewinclan* 76[37]; *winewinclan*
Addit. Ms. 122[24].

Whether *pinewincle* or *pinewinela* is the form of the word [2]
is not to be determined from the existing records. Prim. Teut.
form is *χenkilōn (-ilan).

: Teut. *χenk-* M. E. *winken (wank)*, original sense of the root
'biegen',[3] "a reference to the convoluted form of the shell".[4]

3. Suffix prim. Teut. -alo, -ulo.

The two words given here are both given with reserve, since
it is very possible that they are not original nom. ag. Yet I have
thought it suitable to include them, since they are, as far as I can
see, the only O. E. instances of *lo*-formations in which agential
force can possibly be urged for the suffix in this form.

awel, awul 'awl, hook, fork'. Forms: *awul* fuscinula uel tridens
Ælfc voc. 127[10]; *awel*, asg. Ger. 17 (usual form), pl. *awelas
awlas.*[5]

: *aχ-, ah-*, cp. above *eχle*, prim. Teut. *$a\chi ual a$[6] beside *$a\chi ual a$,
cp. O. N. *soð-áll*, L. *aculeus* 'sting', Cymr. *ebil* 'bohrer'.[7]

The vowel of the last syllable must be regarded as svara-
bhakti, originating in the inflected forms.[8]

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[1] The forms with initial *p-*, recorded from Ælfc. according to Sw., are
stated to be wrong by Cock. II 240. who maintains that these Mss. have *w-*;
at any rate, *wine-* will certainly be due to a corruption of *pine-*, cp. below;
footnote 4).

[2] Whitman, Anglia 30,381. like Sw. gives *winewincle* as fem., though without
giving any reasons.

[3] Fick p. 389.

[4] Whitman, ibid. — As for the explanation of the first part of the word,
Whitman assumes borrowing < L. *pina*. Gr. πίννα 'kind of mussel'.

[5] For full records, see Brasch 62.

[6] Weyhe, PBB 30.134. — Cp. Walde 'aculeus', where Teut. form is given
as *a$\chi ual ō$* after Zupitza, Gutt. 63. The masc. gender. however. is made quite
certain by the records.

[7] See Walde sub aculeus.

[8] Cp. Weyhe. ibid., and the literature quoted by Weyhe and Brasch.

Still more uncertain, probably rather nom. act. is

wapol 'bubble, froth, foam', with secondary vb *wapolian* 'to bubble';
cp. O.Frs. *wapul* 'Sumpf', N. Norw. *vapla* 'Wasserbläschen'.
Forms: *wapol* gl. famfaluca Ælfc voc. 108²⁰, *wapul* Cl. gl. 402¹⁰.
: √*u̯eb?* parallel formation of √*u̯ebh* in O. E. *wǣfre, wafian,*
wifel etc. (see *wifel* above).[1]   Teut. **u̯apula* 'das Schäu-
mende' or 'Schäumen'.

4. Suffix prim. Teut. -lōn, -alōn, -ulōn.

Here I include, with reserve, one word, viz.,

wesle, 'weasel'; *uuesulae* Ep. Erf. 650; *uueosule* Co. M 337, other-
wise *wesle.*[2]

WEYHE[3] does not assume identity between the forms, but
gives *uueosulae* < prim. Teut. **u̯esulōn* and *wesle* < **u̯es(a)lōn*;
cp. also O. H. G. *wisula, wisala,* O. N. *wisla.*

PALANDER and JORDAN regard it as 'wahrscheinlich' and
'wohl sicher' respectively that we have to do with *diminutive*
suff. *-ulōn.* Yet no substantival word has been shown to
exist from which it may be derived. The word may be
compared to Skr. *visras* 'muffig riechend', cp. Skr. *visám*
'Flüssigkeit, Gift', L. *vīrus.*

: √*u̯is* 1) 'feucht sein' 2) 'verwesen' (cp. O. E. *wisnian,* O.N.
visna 'to dry up, wither[4].

Original sense seems more likely to have been agential —
perhaps originally an adj. — than diminutive.

Note.   There is another word which would have to be re-
garded as an ag.-formation with prim. Teut. *-alō, -ulō,* if we
adopted the etymology given by HOLTHAUSEN[5] and accepted by WALDE
(p. 165), BOTH p. 11 ('vielleicht'), and WEYHE p. 132 ("prim. Teut.
skaþulō?"), viz. O. E. *sceaðel* f. 'weaving implement'. The word is
only recorded once, viz. among 'tōwtōla' in Ger. 15 : asg. *sceaðele;* the
gender, consequently, is fem., not masc. as Sw. gives it. *Sceaðel* has

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[1] FICK p. 391. Cp. also WEYHE. PBB 30.₁₁₃. Cp. also BOTH p. 11 and litera-
ture there quoted, and PERSSON. Beiträge p. 235 ff.

[2] For full records, see JORDAN p. 42. cp. PALANDER p. 61.

[3] PBB 30.₁₃₀.

[4] FICK p. 413.

     IF. 25.₁₅₀.

been supposed to mean 'Weberschiffchen'[1] 'Lade am Webstuhl'.[2]
Two etymologies have been suggested: Ritter, ibid., compares the
word with O.N. *skeið*, f. 'weaver's rod, slay', and prim. Teut. **skai-
ðan*; he gives the O. E. form as *sceāðel*, and so also does Fick, p. 464
(*scāþel*). Holthausen, ibid., without criticizing Ritter, suggests O. E.
sceäðel 'der hüpfende', and compares it with L. *scateo* 'hervorspru-
deln, überquellen', Lith. *skasti* 'springen'. With the latter etymology
we get a word which is rather isolated in Teut. — though it is true
Holth. adduces N. H. G. *schade* 'Zins' and Westph. *schǫt* 'Laich' —
and which has no parallel formations in other cognate languages.
On the other hand, if Ritter's etymology is accepted, we get a
very natural association with O. N. *skeið*, Sw. (väv-)*sked*, and the
slight morphological obstacle will certainly not make it impos-
sible — one might expect *sceāple* with syncopation; analogy from
the nom. case is not natural in a word that, on account of its
sense, is likely to have been most usual in inflected cases. I thus
follow Ritter and Fick, but with a slight modification: I do not
assume it to be formed from *skaiðan* — then it would certainly
be masc. like the great number of *ilo*- formations denoting diffe-
rent implements — but from the sb. which we found in O. N.
skeið, f. *i*-stem, the vowel of the suffix thus being the usual one, viz.
-*i*-, since formed from an *i*-stem, accordingly, prim. Teut. **skaiþilō*.
But then I write the O. E. word *sceāðel* (not *sc(e)āðel*), asg. *sceāðele*,
with the vowel of the nom. retained.[3]

As *original ag.-n.* formed with suff. -*lo*, but *obscured by the
extinction of the primitive word*, I have thus regarded **emil, iȝil,
sprindel, . wifel** (two words), **wiðerwenȝel, eȝle** (two words), **hnydele,
hydele, winewincle,** with reserve also **ȝīscl, wincel (wencel), cwydele,
awel, wapol** and **wesle.**

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[1] Liebermann, Anglia IX, 263; Gesetze d. Ags. 2: 1.

[2] Ritter, Archiv 115,165. Kluge, Ags. Lesebuch, leaves the word un-
translated.

[3] Both (p. 11) has the form *sceapel*, owing to a misprint (cp. his index).
He gives the word among -*ila*- -*ala*- formations, of which, with his etymology
(that of Holth.), only the latter is possible, since a prim. Teut. **skaþila* would
have given O. E. **scieðel*.

B. Primitive words retained in O. E.

1. Derivatives from strong verbs.[1]

a. Pa. ptc. formations.

fuʒol 'bird' (cp. *bridd* 'young of a bird'), O. H. G. *fogal*, O. S. *fugal*,
  O. N. *fugl*, Goth. *fugls* < prim. Teut. *fuʒlo-* (< *fluʒlo* with
  loss of *l* by dissimilation)[2].
  : *fléoʒan* II or
  : Teut. *fuh-*, more commonly *fuk-*, *feukan* 'blasen, wehen';
  'der schnell durch die Luft ziehende'.[3]

fenʒel 'prince', only in B. of Hróðʒár (3 ×) and Béowulf (1 ×): wisa
  fenʒel 1400: snottra *fenʒel* 1475, 2156 (Hr.); hrinʒa *fenʒel*
  2345 (Beow.). — The attributes show that the word was a
  kenning of 'prince', without retained association with the cor-
  responding verb.
  : *fón* (< *fanχan*, pa. ptc. *fanʒen*) 'to seize, grasp', origi-
  nally 'one who seizes, takes (and, consequently, possesses)'.

þenʒel probably identical with preceding word and so included here.[4]
  Records: hrinʒa *þenʒel* B. 1507 (Beow.); manna *þenʒel* Ex.
  173 (Moses). Cp. O. N. *þengill* and *mannaþengill*.

Note. *sprytlan*, apl., (L. astulis), 'twig, chip', recorded once,
viz. Bd, ed. MILLER, 2,221[5], is given by WEYHE, ibid., as derived
from *sprot*, *spryttan* : prim. Teut. *sprutilōn* or *sprutilan*, O. E.
spryt(e)le, f.[6] or *spryt(e)la* m. If the word is an ag.-n., it is
more likely to be from the strong verb, O. E. *sprūtan* 'to spring,
germinate', from which verb there are numbers of formations with

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[1] The form of the suffix is, in the following, always prim. Teut. *-ilo*,
unless in a particular case the contrary is expressly stated, which occurs only
in the first word and perhaps twice more.

[2] So N. E. D.

[3] FICK p. 243. As another alternative, FICK (ib.) gives 'der mit Flaumfedern
bekleidete'. Another etymology, suggested by HOLTHAUSEN, IF. 25,152, according
to which *fuʒol* should mean 'der stechende': πευκεδανός 'stechend' is less pro-
bable. Cp. also BERNEKER IF. 9,362.

[4] see NOREEN, Urg. Lautl. p. 197.

[5] according to WEYHE, PBB 30,97.

[6] so BT. and Sw. : "ʒ = ı(e)?".

different suffixes, but with much the same meaning, such as O. E. *sprota*, *sprot* (cp. above), M. L. G. *sprūte* (cp. N. E. *sprout*), O. E. *sprēot* (cp. above p. 27), Norw. dial. *spraut*.[1] It seems, however, preferable to regard it as a *diminutive* formation from *sprota*, m. 'a sprout, shoot', or possibly *sprot*, n. 'sprout, twig, small branch', because the sense of 'chip' (astula) met with in this case is very natural as a diminutive of *sprota* 'branch, twig'[2], a supposition, against which there is no formal obstacle. Then the gender of the word will be masc., just as is the case with its primitive word, thus O. E. *sprytla*, m. with regular syncopation according to WEYHE, ib. Cp. also O. H. G. *sprozzo*, m. 'Leitersprosse', orig. 'Zweig',[3] from which M. H. G. *sprüssel*, m. 'Leitersprosse'.

b. Pret. t. formations.

ēarendel 'dawn, light', cp. O. N. *Aurvandill*, O. H. G. *Orentil*, *Orendil*, *Orandil*, *Aurendil* (SCHADE). O. E. records: iuuvar leoma uel *earendil* Ep. 554; *oerendil* Erf. ib.; iubar *earendel* Co. I 521: eala *Earendel!* enᵹla beorhtust Cri. 104; ond nu seo Cristes ᵹebyrd æt his æriste, se niwa *eorendel* Sanctus Iohannes Blickl. Hom 163[30].

The last record points to the sense of 'dawn (preceding the day)' as the real sense of the word in O. E. L. *iubar* is otherwise glossed by *lēoma*, e. g. Co. I 531; Ælfc gr. 42[8].

The forms of the word are *earendel* and *eorendel*, which latter form is certainly also intended in Erf. *oerendil*. The third ablaut-grade, thus *oerendel* = *erendel* (< *orwandil < *uz-wandil), as recorded in this case (Erf.), will not be possible, since there are no O. E. records to show i-umlaut passing over a middle syllable, unless the vowel is *a* [a-u-i > a-y-i > æ-e-i(e)][4]. Prim. Teut. form of the O. E. word will thus be *auz(a)wandilaz and *euz(a)-wandilaz.[5]

: *windan* 'winden, sich wenden'.

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[1] cp. FICK p. 518.

[2] Otherwise why should not one of the other common words have been used? *sprytela* seems really in this case to be a diminutive, not only originally but still felt as such), and used to render L. astula literally (*hastula : hasta = sprytla : sprota*). Not given as a diminutive by ECKHARDT.

[3] KLUGE, Et. Wtb. sub '*sprosse*'.

[4] SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 50, anm. 2; BÜLBRING. Ae. Elem.b. § 174.

[5] As for the loss of -*w*- cp. SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 173, anm. 3.

O. E. *ēarendel*, like the corresponding words in other dia-
lects, has been the subject of much discussion. It may be
enough here to refer to the last paper on the subject, the
one by Much, Wörter u. Sachen, 4,170 ff., where full references
to literature are given. Like Much, Kluge,[1] Noreen[2], and others,
I regard the word as a cp. of *auz-, *euz-, cp. Skr. *usrâ-* 'dawn, au-
rora', L. *aurora*, and *wandil*, which last word is perhaps,
with Much, ibid., to be interpreted as meaning originally 'branch,
flexible stick', thus an original nom. ag. 'der sich biegende',
then 'ray, ray of light', cp. N. E. *sun-beam*. Hence the ori-
ginal sense of *ēarendel* will be 'ray of light announcing the
arrival of the day'.

sprecel occurring in the plant-name *haran sprecel* : wyrc sealfe
of haran sprecele Lcb. 24^{32}, which plant-name, according to
Cock. II 79, refers to 'viper's bugloss'. Eckhardt regards it
as a *dimin.* of *specca* 'a speck, spot, blot', with suffix *-ilo*,[3]
but then one would expect *sp(r)eccel*. Rather an agential
formation directly from *sprecan* in its prim. Teut. sense 'hervor-
brechen, spriessen', (also 'prasseln, rauschen') — the forma-
tion must then be regarded as prim. Teut., since the verb
means in O. E. only 'to speak' —, in which case the Teut.
form will be either *sprakila*, O. E. *sprecel*[4] or *sprekala*,
O. E. *sprecel*.[5] The sense is 'speck, spot', originally 'was her-
vorspriesst', so that the name seems to denote especially the
so called 'prickly ox-tongue'.

The agential character of the word is, of course, quite lost.
If prim. Teut. *sprecala*, the word properly belongs to group
a (p. 54), or it is a pres.-tense formation.

2. Derivatives from weak verbs.

hrœtele, hratele, 'rattlewort' Cock. III 333 (cp. *hrætelwyrt* Brussels
gl. 301,3).

: √ *krad* 'rattle', Teut. *χrat-*, Gr. κραδάω κραδαίνω 'schwinge,
schwanke', O. E. *hratian*, if that verb can be regarded
as existent, cp. *zeratade* adceleravit Bd. gl. 32 (OET. 180),

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[1] Kluge, Urgermanisch p. 230 = Pauls Grundr. I^2 174.

[2] Arkiv 6,305 ff.

[3] Deminutivbildungen p. 11. Then it must also be a rather late forma-
tion, later than the *i*-umlaut of *e*.

[4] Weyhe 122 assumes Teut. *-ilo*.

[5] So Fick 515.

O. N. *hrata* 'stürzen, eilen'.[1] Prim. Teut. forms will be
*hratilōn and *hratulōn.

As regards *hrætcle* for *hretele, see WEYHE (p. 97), and also
as regards the unsyncopated form (p. 101).

In N. E. *rattle*, as a name of that plant, N. E. D. refuses to
see a continuation of O. E. *hrætele*, as it is not recorded in M.E.,
and the verb 'to rattle' does not appear until the 14th century.

-pyttel in **blēripyttel.** Records: scoricarius *blēripittel* Ælfc voc.
132[38]; soricarius *bleria pyttel* Br. gl. 287[8]. S(c)oricarius in
more or less varying forms is also glossed with *mushafoc*, e. g.,
Br. gl. 285[6], so that the sense of 'mousehawk' will be quite
certain. WHITMANN[2] gives no explanation; LEHMANN[3] explains
the first member of the name as meaning 'bare, bald'. HÖGE[4]
declares the M. E. *pitill* to be a diminutive formation from M. E.
puttock 'a kite', and N. E. D. assumes a formation 'perhaps from
'root *putt* of *puttock*', 'of which the ultimate etymology is ob-
scure'.[5]

By way of suggestion, I refer the word to O. E. *potian, pyttan*,
M. E. *putten*, N. E. *put*, which meant in O. E. 'to prick, prog',
thus 'der stechende', with reference to the 'bill' (scarcely to
the bird itself), *Blēripittel*, accordingly, would be a bahuvṛhi
-cp., meaning 'one whose bill is bare, bald', alluding to the
cere of these birds, i. e. the soft, bare skin, covering the base
of the bill.[6]

We have regarded all the above-mentioned words as *obscured*
ag.-n., in some cases in spite of the existence in O. E. of the pri-
mitive word. The obscuring factors have been, in these last cases,
1) *morphological* differentiation: *fuʒol, þenʒel, ēarendel*
2) *semological* differentiation by sense-development of either the

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[1] Cp. HOLTHAUSEN, Anglia Beibl. 15,72 and FICK p. 101.

[2] JGPh II 167.

[3] Anglia Beibl. 17,296. Cp. foot-note [6]!

[4] Me. Diminutivbildungen p. 17.

[5] Cp., on this root, also PERSSON, Beitr. p. 262.

[6] LEHMANN, ibid.,translates "kahl- oder weissköpfigen Vogel". His view of
the word, then. probably tallies with HÖGE's, insofar as he must regard it as
a diminutive formation from the O. E. word *pott* 'pot' — he does not expressly
say so, but I can not account for his translation and his words in general in
any other way — which word has adopted the sense of 'head'. This would be
a very natural sense-development, too, cp. the well-known G. *Kopf*, Fr. *tête*.
It is difficult to say which of the explanations should have preference.

derived subst. or the verb: *fenʒel, sprecel, hrǣtele, hratele, blēri-pyttel.*

The originally agential character is dubious for *fuʒol, ēaren-del, sprecel,* and especially for *blēri-pyttel.*.

In the words with which we are going to deal below, on the other hand, the substantival ag.-n. remains in association with the still living verb, its primitive word, and is felt as an ag.-n. The sense of the subst., it is true, can be more or less specialized when compared to that of the verb, but the connection between them was clear and could easily and naturally be felt, if reflected upon.

II. Function of nom. ag. felt in O. E.

A. Formations from strong verbs.

1. Formations with pa -ptc.-vowel.

a. Verb-class I.

With some hesitation as to the quantity of the vowel, I give here:
forridel 'fore-rider, harbinger', recorded once Ælfc Hom. II 168[10]:
   cyninʒ - - sende his *forridel.* Cp. O. H. G *wagan-reitil* 'auriga'
   (: *reita* 'currus, quadriga'), and cp. O. E. *rid(d)a* and *rīdend.*[1]

b. Verb-class II.

bydel, O. H. G. *butil,* Teut. **buðilo-*
   : *bēodan* 'to announce, proclaim; bode'
   1. 'proclaimer, herald, messenger': a) 'one who proclaims a
   person', 'a herald', with much the same sense as *foreʒynel,*
   e. g. Johannes weard - - *bydel* þæs heofonlican aðelinʒes Ælfc
   Hom I 358[1]: se *bydel* (of John the Baptist) ʒebiʒde micelne
   heap to scyppende mid his bodunʒe 356[14], where the sense
   approaches that of 2. So also 358$_2^8$, 356$_{13}$, 362[9]. L. S. XVI

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[1] Whether *i* or *ī* is not to be settled; BT. and Sw. give *i,* WEYHE PBB 30, 104 gives *ī(?).* It is the only uncertain word, as regards quantity of vowel, of all living ag.-n. in *-el* in O. E. In view of the gradation-form generally met with in these formations and of what is said below, I assume a short vowel. — Ælfc's *ridda* with *dd* as compared with *forridel* will prove nothing against this assumption, since that is the usual spelling for that word throughout the O. E. period.

95. b) 'one who proclaims a person's will; a messenger'
e. g. enʒlum, þæt is to ʒodes *bydelum* Hom. 1 344₁₃ (cp. 344₁₁
: heahenʒlum, þæt is to healicum *bodum* : *boda* is the usual
word for enʒel and the only one used in poetry in that sense);
sende se casere his *bydelas* and bead L. S. XXIII 47. So also
Hom. 1 222₁₈, ₃, 520₁₄, 525₁₆, ₁₅; L. S. XXIII 52. Exod. 32,₅;
Jos. 3,₂.

2. 'p r e a c h e r', the most usual sense of the word, typical of
Ælfc, e. g. þa *bydelas* ʒehældon - - healte and blinde (of the
disciples), Ælfc Hom. 1 208₄; L. S. XVI 147 : twelf apostolas
wæron þe wunedon mid him and twa and hund seofontiʒ he
ʒeceas him to *bydelum*. So also 1 Cn 26, 11 84,₄, Genes. 41,₄₃,
Polity 308 V, 310¹, and Ælfc extremely often.

3. 'b e a d l e', e. g. hlaford - - - ʒelomlice þurh his *bydelas* his ʒa-
foles mynʒað IV Eg. 1,₂. So also Rect. 18, Cl. gl. 394¹².

The word does not occur in poetry.[2]

Here belongs also, as an originally agential formation, though in O. E.
a concrete nom. virtutis.

crypel 'cripple', glossing paralyticus, dsg. *cryple* Lind. L. 5,₂₄, sume hi
wæron blinde and deafe and sume *crypeles* and sume dumbe Assm.
Ælfc XV 363 (p. 180). Also an *adj. crypel*, perhaps the same
word, e. g. unhal cild ne *crypel*, ne dumb, ne deaf ib. XV 322.

: *creopan;* Teut. *crupila, MLG. *cropel*, not identical with O. N.
kryppil (< *krumpil)[3]. Commoner in the cp.

eorðcrypel with the same sense: nsg. *eorðcrypel* Lind. L. 5,₁₈; *eorð-
cryppel* Mt. 8,₆; Lind. Ru. Mk. 2,₄; dsg. *eorðcrypple* Mt. 9,₂; 9,₆;
Mk. 2,₅; 2,₁₀; *eorðcrypple* Mk. 1 2,₁₄; 2,₉; Ru. Mk. 2,₉, ₁₀; asg.
eorðcrypel Lind Ru. Mk. 2,₃; Lind L. 1 4,₂₀; Mt. 9,₂; *eorðcrypele* Ru.
Mk. 2,₅; *eorðcryppel* Lind Mt. 1 18,₇; apl. *eorðcryplas* Mt. 4,₂₄.

Both words thus belong almost exclusively to Northumbr.[4]

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[1] Cp. *crypel* cuniculum 'burrow', from the same vb. (cp. *smyʒel*).

[2] Full references to the word *bydel* : Mart. 104⁵; IV Eg 1,₂ = BCS III 388¹⁷;
Rect. 18; Ælfc Hom 1 4¹²; 208₁; 222₁₈, ₃; 310¹²; 320⁹; 344₁₃; 352₁⁸; 354₂; 356₁₄;
358¹; 362⁹; 390₆; 520₆, ₄; 524₁₆, ₁₅; 584₁₄; 598₂; 11 36₆, ₄; 74¹¹; 126₅, ₅, ₄; 202₁₁; 320⁸;
372⁶, ⁸; 374⁹, ¹²; 430₁₀; 530², ⁹; 534₅, ₇, ₆, ¹¹, ¹³, ¹⁷, ²⁰; 536¹², ¹³; 538₁₃; 558¹⁵; L. S. XVI
95; 147; 151; XIX 154; XXII 65; 196; XXIII 47; 52; XXIV 183; Assm. Ælfc
56,₁₄₂; Ælfc de Test. 12¹⁸; 19³⁸; Genes. 41,₄₃; Exod. 32,₅; Joshua 3,₂; Ælfc gr.
276²; gl. 318⁸ (præco); Ws. ev. Lk. 12,₅₈ (exactor); Wulfst. 79¹⁴; 176²³; 178⁸, ¹¹;
190⁹; 191⁴, ²²; 273¹⁵; Polity 308 V₃¹⁶; 310¹; Cl. gl. 394¹²; KCD 1353 VI 211,;
Grið 19,₁ = 1 Cn 26; 11 Cn 84,₄; XII Abus. 303₅; Nap. gl. 1,₅₁₁₂ (cp. foot-note
ibid.)

[3] Cp. WEYHE PBB 30, p. 113.

[4] See JORDAN, Eigentümlichkeiten d. Angl. Wortsch. p. 80.

c. Verb-class III.

rynel 'river'; *rynelas* rivos Reg. Ps. 64,11: *reneles* Eadw. Ps. ib.
(other versions have *rinnellan*, which will have to be regar-
ded in agreement with Thiele § 31 e and Kluge, Nom. St. 1.
§ 157).[1]

  : *rinnan*, 'to run, flow'. Cp. next word.

rynel 'runner, courier'; quasi cursor swa *renel* Kent. gl. 949; cursor
rynel Ælfc gl. 305[18] (Zup.): translating concurrentium as an
astronomical term Byrhtf. 302[33]: us ʒelustfullað þissera *rynela*
anʒin preostum ætywon.

  : *rinnan,* oftener *iernan*. As regards the simple consonant
  of *rynel* (cp. Goth. ptc. *runnans*), it is a proof of the great
  age of the word (cp. *ryne,* Goth. *runs* 'Lauf'.[2]

for(e)rynel 'forerunner'; eala wisdom. þu eart boda and *forerynel* ðæs
soðan leohtes Boeth. 103[26]; morʒenstiorra — se *forrynel* Metr.
29,25; se ðe þone sacerdhad onfehð, he onfehð friccan scire and
foreryneles ða her iernað beforan cyninʒum and bodiʒeað hira
færelt and hira willan hlydende Past. 91[21]; Ælfc Hom. 1 356₅;
364[6]; 484₂; L. S. XXIII B 505 — cyrcan þæs halʒan *forry-*
neles and fulluhteres Johannes —; 626: Ælfc de Novo test.
12[24]; Ev. Nic. 601[7] (in all these cases of John the Baptist):
Scint. 37 b.

samodrynel, astronomical term : æfter þisre ʒewritenan forespræce on
endebyrdnesse þæs ʒerimes synt ʒemearcode þa concurrentes
þa synt *samod rynelas* ʒenemned Byrhtf. 302[10].

d. Verb-class IV.

hūsbrycel 'a house-breaker, burglar': clasmatorius efractor *hūsbrycel*
Harl. gl. 205[28]. Cp. O. H. G. *husprehho* prædator, O. S. *hus-*
brukil, adj. 'thievish'.[3]

  : *brecan* IV, originally V.

  Thiele,[4] strangely enough, renders this word by 'Einbruch',
probably owing to a misunderstanding of Sw.'s "*husbrycel*
'housebreaking' Gl.", by which I suppose Sw. meant an

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[1] Cp. on this word NED. *rindle* and *runnel;* Schlutter ESt. 38,21; 40,302;
Wildhagen ESt. 39,206: 40,308.

[2] Cp. Noreen. Urg. Lautl. pp. 13,159.

[3] Gallée, Vorstudien p. 156.

[4] Kons. Suff. d. Abstr. d. Ae. p. 91.

adjectival ptc., not a nom. act.; the word is regarded as an adj. by Schön[1], who compares it to *ǣ-brucol* 'sacrilegious', *scip-brucol* 'causing shipwreck'. In support of the adjectival nature of the word, might be adduced N. E. *brickle, britchel* 'liable to break, fragile', but that adj., even in its earliest (= M.E.) records, appears only with *passive* sense, as synonymous with O. E. *brytel*, N. E. *brittle* : *brēotan*. *brycel* 'fragile' certainly has existed as an O. E. adj., but is not the one recorded here, which has *active* sense and, to judge from the lemma at least, *substantival* character; *effractor* is only given as a sb. by Duca. (e. g. effractores domuum). Of course, it may be originally an adj., cp. O. S. *husbrukil*.

One might be uncertain — as far as the quality of the vowel goes — whether in prim. Teut. the vowel was *e* or *u (*brecila* or *brucila*), in the first case with pres.-t.-vowel or pa. ptc.-vowel of the vb. with its oldest inflection (V). The latter alternative — pa. ptc.-vowel (V) — does not seem likely, as the change of verb-classes is very old, cp. O. H. G. *gibrohhan*, Goth. *bru-kans,* and also such O. E. formations as *widerbroca* 'adversary' (beside *widerbreca*), nom. act. *bryce*, O. H. G. *bruh, pruh*. And besides, rounding of an *i* (< Teut. *ĕ*)[2] is not to be assumed, unless in a certain text it is the rule, which seems not to be the case in Harl. gl.: even *twi-* which is otherwise so often rounded into *twy-*, always shows the unrounded form in this glossary.

e. Verb-class V.

ēarscripel 'ear-scraper', name of the little finger.
    : *screpan,* M. H. G. *schreffen* 'to scrape'.
Records: applare *eorscripel* Co. A 706;[3] auricularis *earscrypel* Br. gl. 291[27], with *y* for *i*.

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[1] Bildung d. Adj. im Ae. p. 30.

[2] cp. Bülbring § 283.

[3] *ēor-* instead af *ēar-* need not surprise us, cp. *rēod* for *rēad* Co. 1 401, *ʒefrēos* (pret. sg.) O 28 and other such cases; cp. Bülbr. § 108 anm. Sweet, in his edition, assumes the gloss to be *eordcrypel*, the erroneousness of which supposition was shown by Schlutter, Anglia XIX 102, though Schlutter himself in his exposition is guilty of an exaggeration, cp. J. M. Hart. M. L. N. XIV 1899.

Applare will have to be emendated, as is done by SCHLUTTER[1], into *auriculare*.[2]

f. Redupl. verbs.

-ȝenȝel, only in epp., ep. O. H. G. *gimeitgengil, nahgengil, fuorgengil*.

: ȝanȝan, ȝǽn.

æfterȝenȝel[3] 'successor (in office)' is only recorded from the very earliest texts: nan min *æfterȝenȝles* þær of ne nime Ags. Chron. 39[19] (E), A. D. 675; min *æfterȝenȝle*, gpl, 39[29], A. D. 675: swa þæt nan min *æfterȝenȝles* ðær nan þinȝ of ne nime BCS 1 49 p. 81[4], A. D. 680.

foreȝenȝel[3] 'predecessor (in office): mine *forȝenȝles* (said by king Edgar) Ags. Chron. 123[7] A. D. 963; be ȝeleaffulra cinȝa daȝan, minra *forȝenȝlan* BCS 1 94 p. 137[19] A. D. 697; and ealle þa þinȝ þe þine *forȝenȝles* and min ȝeatton III 583[4] A. D. 972: ðat ðer euere undon wrðe ðat ure *fordȝenȝles* nðen and ðat we unnen habben into ðat heli minster KCD IV 231[6] (Eadweard; no date given by ed.). — Note also the pl.-form *vorgenglen* in M. E., Lay. 25082.[4]

It should be observed that these two words belong exclusively to the Ags. Chron., where they are the only ones used to express the idea in question, and to the charters. The usual words in other texts, generally also in the charters, are *fore-* and *æfterȝenȝa, æfterfylȝend. -ȝenȝel,* evidently, is the older

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[1] Anglia XIX 102.

[2] JORDAN, Eigentümlichkeiten d. angl. Wortsch. p. 80, remarks in passing, in speaking of this word, that *applare* should not be changed into *auriculare*, but that the sense of the word is 'Löffel', here 'Ohrkratzer'. I cannot understand this explanation. L. *applare*, it is true, exists and means the same thing as L. *cochlear*, i. e. 1) 'shell' 2) 'anything in the form of a shell' particularly 'spoon, bowl of a spoon' — I suppose such is JORDAN's reasoning. But how could an O. E. word *ēarscripel*, of clear and undisputed etymology, come to bear that sense? It can hardly be supposed that the Anglo-Saxon had got a particular implement in the form of a spoon to clean his ears with! The gloss and lemma Br. gl. 291[27], quoted above, place it beyond any doubt that *ēarscripel* was a name of the little finger, adopted from L., and then there will be, as far as I can see, no other possibility of removing the difficulties than by accepting SCHLUTTER's suggestion.

[3] With the main stress on the prefix. If -ȝenȝel were stressed, it would have, in this W. S. work, the form *-ȝienȝel (BÜLBR. § 289).

[4] Overlooked by GÜTE, Persönl. Konkr. im Me.

form, which has been superseded by -ʒenʒa, though in docu-
ments of a more official character the old form has been re-
tained for a long time: especially the kings themselves, even
in late O. E., like speaking of their foreʒenʒles, just as they will
have heard their fathers (predecessors) do. — In BCS 1 A. D.
697 we see a blending of the two words, with the suffix of
ʒenʒel, but the inflection of ʒenʒa. Of great interest also is
another form that seems to have been overlooked by lexico-
graphers, viz. Ags. Chron. 221[16] A. D. 1086: (æniʒ his) fore-
ʒenʒra. We have seen that foreʒenʒel is the only word
used in the Ags. Chron. to express the idea of 'predecessor', so
that is undoubtedly the word intended. As the suffix, how-
ever, was felt a little strange and unusual at this late period,
the usual -ere was *substituted* for it — *ʒenʒere cannot be
an independent formation, in which case it would be *ʒan-
ʒere.[1] Cp. also æfterfylʒend, and in a following part of
my treatise -ʒenʒa and the chapter treating of double forma-
tions.

oʒenʒel 'bar, bolt', originally 'was zurück geht';[2] obex oʒenʒel Co.
O 107 = Cl. gl. 459[10].[3]

2. Pres.-t. formations.

birele 1 'Schenkin, waitress'.

: *beran IV*, cp. next word, *birele 2*.

ʒif wið eorles *birele* (asg.) man ʒeliʒeð, XII scill 'ʒebete Abt
14: ʒif wið ceorles *birelan* (asg.) man ʒeliʒeð, VI scillinʒum
ʒebete; æt ðære oðre þeowan L. scætta: æt þære þriddan XXX
scætta Abt. 16. *Birele*, accordingly, was the first of the *þeowan*
of an Anglo-Saxon family.[4]

birele, byrele 2 'Mundschenke, cupbearer', glosses and translates L.
pincerna.

Records (*poetry*): *byrelas* sealdon win of wunderfatum B.
1161; *byrlas* ne ʒældon, ombehtþeʒnas A. 1533; þurh *byreles*
hond Wy. 51: (*prose*): þam cnihte, þe wæs þæs biscopes *by-
rele* mid medum (Ms. O *byrlc*) Greg. 186[22]; *byrelas* Or. 136[14];

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[1] BT. gives such a form citing Som. Ben. Lye.

[2] On the prefix, see LEHMANN. Präf. *uʒ-* im Ae. p. 142, 149: cp. also BT..
GRAFF I 6a, FICK p. 28.

[3] Identity of records shown by SIEVERS. Anglia XIII p. 322.

[4] Cp. HENNING. ZfdA. 37.317.

and ælcan ʒesettan discþeʒne, and ʒesettan hræʒlðene, and
ʒesettan *biriele*, hund eahtatiʒ mancusa ʒoldis BCS III 75$_{10}$
A. D. 955; *byrlas* Assm. Ælfc 93^{26}; Chron. E 1120; *byrle* Ælfc gl.
303^2; suppl. Ælfc voc. 189^{32}; Genes. 40,1; Ælfc Hom II 520^{13}
(dsg.); *byrla* (gpl) suppl. Ælfc voc 189^{29}; Genes. 40,9, 20, 21, 23;
49,9; *byrlas* Genes. 40,2; *byrele* Cl. gl. 281^{16}; *birilū* Lind. J. 2,5.

Cp. O. N. *byrli*, *byrlari*, and cp. the secondary vb O. E.
byr(e)lian, O. N. *byrla*. — In poetry, the form of the word is
always *byrele* (except A. where *byrle*), and so also in Ælfred;
in Ælfc,. and late O. E. prose, *byrle*.[1] A form *byrel*, often
given as O. E., e. g., by Sütterlin p. 32, is non-existent.

The word, accordingly, stands quite isolated as regards the
form (not a *ja*-derivation, because then pl. *byrellas*, cp. Weyhe
ibid.). Weyhe assumes identity between O. N. *byrlari* and
O. E. *byrele*, both < *byrelere* with haplology in the O. E. word,
and both derived from Teut. sb. *biriilū 'tragbares Holzgefäss',
an explanation which has also been accepted by Both[2] and
Holthausen.[3] With this opinion I cannot concur, for many
reasons. In the first place, caution must certainly be shown
in assuming *prim. Teut.* formations with suff. *-ere*. Then it
seems rather daring to assume that haplology operates in
such a way as to render a word formally isolated, when it
belongs to a common word-group with many and obvious asso-
ciations. Also from a semological point of view, it may be
remarked that the assumed primitive word means 'basket,
box', whereas we should rather expect, if desubstantive form-
ation is to be assumed, a word meaning 'bottle, cup', cp. the
word adduced by Weyhe, N. E. *butler*. As for O. N. *byrlari*,
it is no doubt to be regarded, with Falk[4], as a later modi-
fication of the isolated *byrli*.

For my part, I think the most natural explanation will be
to assume identity between *birele 1* and *birele 2*, and to regard
the former as the original. It is a phenomenon not unusual
in O. E., as far as calling-denoting nouns are concerned, that ori-
ginally fem. words are used to designate male beings, and some-
times even themselves become masc., if the profession in point,

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[1] Weyhe, PBB 30 p. 136 ff.; Bülbring §§ 439, 285 anm. 3.

[2] Both p. 9.

[3] Holthausen, Beowulf II.

[4] PBB 14. p. 33.

from belonging to women, becomes a profession followed (also) by men: I need only recall the formations with-*estre*, e. g. *wæscestre*, *bæcestre*, *seamestre* etc.[1] Now as regards the present word, the O. E. laws mention both *eorles* and *ceorles birele* as a maidservant in an Anglo-Saxon family, so in that sense the word must have been a common one and familiar to any Anglo-Saxon. The records for the corresponding masc. word, on the other hand, either refer to functionaries of this kind outside England — translating L. pincerna, sometimes puer, e. g. Greg. 186²² — or to the butlers of grand (royal) families. Originally in old Teutonic times it will have been the duty of a woman (girl) to perform the function in question, later also young men will have been employed as butlers. And then the actually existing fem. word *birele* was used also for the masc., though with the fem. form retained only in the nsg, whereas in other cases it was attracted by such words as *bydel* and *forrynel*. Thus two paradigms developed, one *birele*, *bireles*, another *birele*, *-an*. The masc. form seems even sometimes to have been used for the fem., asg. *birele*, Abt. 14. (cp. *birelan* Abt. 16).

One other possibility may exist. There may have been originally two words, one masc. and another fem., O. E. **byrel* and *birele*, which have been blended. At any rate, I can see no other explanation for the form *birele* than that it was originally fem.

Pres.-t.-vowel was assumed in this word, as is also done by WEYHE ibid. The fem. word only shows *i* and the masc. also occurs with *i* in a passage or two. *y* for *i* is just what is to be expected in this position.[2]

B. Formations from weak verbs.

hrĭsel 'shuttle'.   Records: radium *hrisil* Ep. 851; *hrisl* Erf. ib., Co. R 11; ebredio *hrisle* Co. E 10; cada *hrisel* cadula lytel *hrisel* Ælfc voc 158³⁰; radiolum *hrisl* Ælfc voc Suppl. 187¹⁸; radiis

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[1] Cp. KLUMP, Handwerkernamen p. 59, KLUGE, St. l. 50. — Nom. ag. are in general of epicene gender, i. e., masc. but they can designate male or female beings. Sometimes female agents have an ag.-n of their own. It is scarcely more curious that a fem. ag.-n. is used to designate males, under certain circumstances, than the contrary.   The epicene gender of ordinary ag.-n. evidently forms the psychological basis for such a development.

[2] BÜLBRING, Ae. Elementarb. § 283 anm. 2.

rīslum Hpt. gl. 494a$_{18}$: radium *hrefl* Br. gl. 294[2]; *hrisl* Cl. gl. 262[10]; ebredio *hristle* Cl. gl. 391[18]; radiis *hrislum* Cl. gl. 504[7]; ne me hrutendum *hrisil* scelfaeð Leid. Ri. 7.

The form Br. gl. *hrefl* is evidently due to an error.[1] As the *e*-vowel is only met with in this record, we need not attach very much weight to it, and, on account of this single case, assume alternative formation with the suffix in its form -*lo* (instead of -*ilo*), as Bülbr. does.[2] I assume as original form **hrisilo*-, with regular syncopation of the vowel in -*sil*- after a short vowel.[3]

For the short vowel, support is found by the insertion of *t* (*hristle*) in Cl. gl. 391[18] and by the natural etymology of the word, which, to judge from the record, Leid. Ri., was still felt in O. E., in spite of its concrete specialized sense. Long vowel is, however, also possible.

: *hrisian*, Goth. *hrisjan*, O. H. G. *ushrisian*, O. S. *hrisian* 'to shake, schütteln'. To this root also belongs *hrīs* 'twig', and the root is generally given as Teut. **χrīs-* (so e. g. Feist).[4]

mānfordǣdla 'wicked destroyer' (Sw.), 'übeltäter, frevler' (Holth.), occurs B. 563 in the npl. *mānfordǣdlan* of the sea-monsters (= lāðʒetēonan 559).

: *fordōn* 'to destroy, kill', cp. pret. pl. *dǣdon*, O. S. *dādun*, O. H. G. *tātun* and cp. sb. *dǣd*, f. 'action, deed'.

Note 1. A desubstantive formation standing on the border between nom. ag. and concr. nom. virtutis is *ʒeniþla* 'enemy, foe', occurring once, viz. J. 151 : sb. *nīþ* m. 'envy, hatred', prim. Teut. **nīþilō(n)*, not **-nīþlo*, because then it would become O. E. **geniðla*.

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[1] Symbols for *s* and *f* are very similar in O. E. Mss.

[2] Bülbring § 444.

[3] Cp. Weyhe p. 128; this word not given by him, since he reads *hrīsel*.

[4] Cp. also Brasch p. 104 and literature there quoted. — The assumption of *ī*, thus *hrīsel*, is not due, as Brasch thinks, to the necessity of derivation from *hrīs*, cp. O. N. *hrīsla*, but to the metrical reason advanced by Sievers PBB IX 503, that Leid. Ri. 7 demands a long syllable, and so the said derivation has been suggested. Now the verb *hrisian* has a short vowel in O. E., and so it seems preferable to regard the vowel of *hrisel* as short, too (cp. also the quoted *hristle*). As for the form in Leid. Ri., it will oblige us to assume alternatively long vowel, unless that form can be explained in another way, as I think it can. I propose to read in that case **hrissel*, cp. Goth. *hrisjan*, weak vb 1, thus originally O. E. **hrissan > hrisian* (Schuldt § 155, Sievers Ags. Gr. § 400 Anm. 1), which subst. has later on, following the verb, obtained simple *s*.

Cp. also *ʒenīþla* m. or *ʒenīþle* f. 'enmity'. Commoner than the simple word are its cpp., all of which are poetical, too : *cald* ~ A. 1048; 1341; Jud. 228; *feorh* ~ B. 969; 1540; 2933; *ferðð* ~ B. 2881; *ʒāst* ~ J. 245; *lāð* ~ J. 232; Ph. 50; *mān* ~ A. 916; *sweord* ~ E 1180; *torn* ~ A. 1230; E 568; 1305.

Note 2. The word *þrǣl*, occurring in late O.E., is a Scand. loanword,[1] O.N. *þrǽll*; cp. O.H.G. *drigil*. The possible character- ter of an original ag.-n. (: Goth. *þragjan* laufen; cp. Löwe, Germ. Sprachw. 49), accordingly, does not concern us in this connection.

Note 3. To judge from the L. lemma, the word given by Wr.-W. as *hæcewol*, glossing *exactor* Ælfc voc 111[9], and as *kæcewol* in Addit. Ms. 111[9] (Anglia VIII 449), would also seem to belong here. As has long been known, the word is to be read *kæcepol* and is an O.Fr. loanword, O.Fr. *cachepoll* (= Central Fr. *chacepol*, Med.L. *chassipulus*, thus meaning 'chase-fowl', 'one who hunts fowls', also used as proper name.[2]

Note 4. A form *bydle* (= bydla), occurring Lind. J. 9,31 and translating *cultor*, is given by BT. (Suppl.) with *ȳ* and is referred to *būan* (*būend* = cultor). For obvious morphological reasons the word, however, cannot be a direct derivation from this verb. It should be read *bўdla* and be put on a par with an unrecorded W.S. **bytla*, as has already been shown by Sievers.[3] For this word, derived from the sb. *botl* 'building', see *jan*-suff.

Note 5. The substantivized adj. in *-ol* appear, when used with weak flexion, with the ending *-ola* or *-ela*. It will sometimes be tempting to regard them as substantival ag.-n., formed with suff. *-ilŏ* directly from the verb. In most cases certainly the ad- jectival character is prominent, as for instance in *se ʒifola*, not meaning 'giver', but 'a bounteous man', but other cases can be more complicated. Take the word *bitel(a)* 'beetle', occurring in the different forms, *bitela, bitula, bitel, betel*.[4] The originally ad-

[1] Björkman, Scand. Loanwords p. 19.

[2] Cp. Schmid, Ges. d. Ags.[2] 219; Zupitza, Academy 28,325; Sievers, Anglia 13,314; Mettig, ESt. 41,225 ff. and NED *catchpole (catchpoll)*.

[3] Ags. Gr. § 196,2. Cp. Weyhe's treatment of Teut. *-þl-* in O.E. PBB 30,67 ff.. and cp. Füchsel p. 51.

[4] Cortelyou p. 13.

jectival nature of the word is proved, or at least made likely by
the ending *-ula,* in Ep. Erf. 145 and Co. B. 143, though **bitol* is
unrecorded as an adj. *Bitela* is accordingly developed from *bitula.*
As regards the form *bitel,* I do *not,* like Cort., regard it as the
adj. **bitol* with strong flexion, but as a *new-formation* from the
dpl. bitelum, regularly developed out of *bitulum,*[2] which new nsg.
was coined on the model of other animal-names in *-el,* above all
the synonymous *wifel.* — Another substantivized adj. is also *cli-
pol, ðone clypolan* 'vowel'.

The above survey of nom. ag. in *-el* is intended to comprise
all *lo-*formations existing in O. E. which were felt as ag.-n. in
O. E., or are best explained as original ag.-n. Particular attention
has been paid to the *form* of the suffix, the *ablaut-grade* of the
words, the *age* of the words, as far as it can be settled, and to
their *sense.* If we sum up the observations made, we thus arrive
at the following results.

a) Form of the suffix.

Without a middle vowel only the uncertain *ʒisel, wesle* (pos-
sibly), and *fuʒol* are met with.

With middle vowel -a- or *-u-* we find likewise only some rather
uncertain cases, viz., *awel, wapol, wesle, sprecel* (possibly), *hratele*
(cp. above p. 57).

With middle vowel -i-, finally, we meet with the majority of the
agential *-lo-*formations, i. e., all those words that were still felt as
ag.-n. in O. E., and all those words that designate persons (except
the uncertain *ʒisel*), and also most of the others. It is thus under
the form Teut. *-ilo-,* O. E. *-el* that this suffix appears in O. E. with
agential function, just as is the case with the cognate instrumental
and with the diminutive words, though in the latter groups there are
many more certain formations with other forms of the suffix than
in the agential words. For the settling of the productivity of the
type, we need, accordingly, only consider the *-ilo-*formations.

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[1] The ending *-ula* also forms diminutives (cp. Eckhardt), and in this case
there is possibly a sb. from which *bitula* might be formed, viz. *-bita,* cp. *hræð-
bita,* glossing the same L. word *(blatta).* For its *diminutive* meaning the fact
could be advanced that its lemma is *mordiculus,* meaning, as Cort. remarks,
"der kleine Beisser". The other explanation seems, however, more likely, espe-
cially since the form *-bita* is only recorded as part of a cp.

[2] Bülbring §§ 404, 417, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 129.

b) **Ablaut-grade of the words**.

For some of the words it is not possible to decide the ablaut-grade, since the question of the primitive word is not definitely settled. In a few cases, we have to do with formations from weak verbs, as in *hrisel* and *mānfordǣdla*, perhaps also in *emel*, *h(n)ydele*, *hratele*, *pyttel*.

Pret.-t.-vowel was found in a few obscured *ilo*-formations, viz. *wencel* (beside *wincel*), *sprecel* (if < *sprakila*; perhaps, however, < *sprecala*), *wiðerwenʒel* (possibly; primitive word uncertain), *ēarendel*.

Pres.-t.-vowel was met with in *sprindel, wincel, winewincle*, and probably in *birele, byrele,* and then in all cases where the primitive word was a verb of classes V, VI, and sometimes redupl. vbs, i. e. *wifel, sprecel* (if < *spreeala*), *fenʒel, þenʒel, ēarscripel, -ʒenʒel,* in which cases, however, it is preferable to assume *pa-ptc.-vowel.* The pres.-t.-vowel in the derivatives from verbs of class III *(sprindel, wincel, winewincle)* is not surprising, cp. the similar state of things in the *an*-formations (in *wiðerwinna, siʒelhweorfa*); except for the old word *rynel* we have no *lo*-derivatives with weak vowel from these verbs.

The *(i)lo*-words felt as as ag.-n. in O. E. are all (except possibly *byrele*) formed with *pa.-ptc.-vowel,* which is evidently the proper vowel of these formations (cp. nom. instrumenti in -*ilo*); certainly *byrele,* too, was felt in O. E. to contain the same ablaut-grade, when appearing with *y.* In one case the vowel was uncertain, viz., in *forridel,* for which two interpretations are possible; it probably shows the same structure as the other words and so has been classified among pa. ptc. formations and is to be pronounced with a short ĭ.

c) **Productivity of the suffix**.

The words dealt with above, under 1 A and B, i. e., obscured ag.-n., are, as a matter of course, pre-English formations. The only word about which there might be some slight doubt is *hrǣ-tele, hratele,* only recorded in O. E., which may be a formation dating from the time between the palatalization of Teut. *a* and the *i*-mutation, at the latest, in which case the by-form *hratele* would be due to secondary, renewed attraction from the verb; yet it is likely to be older, since the verb is scarcely known definitely to have existed in O. E. (cp. above). As regards the words under II, they

are, like the others, chiefly derivatives from strong verbs, and there
are only two words, at most, formed from weak verbs, a fact which
in itself points to an earlier age as being the flourishing period of
the suffix. We find *bydel, crypel, þenzel, -zenzel, husbrycel* in
other Teut. dialects, and in these words, as well as in *rynel, ēar-
scripel, birele*, the form of the words reveals them as pre-English
creations, since it indicates sound-laws that have been at work in
the common Teutonic period. Such a word as *ēarscripel*, it is
true, seems to be a creation made by the glossator to render L.
auricularius, since that name of the little finger, like other such
names (*hālettend* salutarius, *bīceniend* index), are evidently to be
referred to the L., and the cp. *ēarscripel* is, indeed, likely never to
have occurred before; but there certainly did exist a word **scripel,*
meaning 'scraper', or the glossator would not have made such a
formation from *screpan*, from mere analogy with other words —
moreover, there are none among the other words in -*el* that could
have offered any great attraction, as far as I can see; but he would
have coined an **earscrepend*, like *hālettend* and *bīceniend*, or some
similar formation. The form of *mānfordǣdla*, too, removes it to
an earlier period[1]. *Hrisil* is not recorded in other Teut. dialects.
In view of the explanation suggested above (p. 66) of the record
Leid. Ri. it is, however, likely to be a pre-English formation, as is
also the case if long vowel is to be assumed in the word, since the
verb only occurs with short vowel in O. E.; at any rate it is of very
early Anglo-Saxon date at the latest, since it occurs even in the very
oldest records (Leid. Ri., Ep. Erf. gl.). The only word, then, for
which pre-historic formation is not evident, is *forridel*, recorded only
in O. E.[2] and only once, viz. in Ælfc. Hom. Indeed, I am inclined to
regard this word as an O. E. new-formation. It translates L. *præcur-
sor*, in other cases rendered by *forerynel*. Now, *forerynel* occurs six
times in Ælfc's texts[3], but always with reference to John the Baptist.
In this particular case, however, the L. *præcursor* was used of a king's
harbinger, and as *forerynel* had evidently acquired the aforesaid
particular application to John the Baptist in Ælfric's mind, he could

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[1] I will not deny the possibility of another explanation of this word, viz.
as a desubstantive word (: *dǣd*) but with the prefix of a verb corresponding
to that sb. *(fordōn)*.

[2] Not in other Teut. dial., but twice in M. E. (Ancr. Riwl) (GÜTE p. 54).
Cp. G. *(wagan-) reitil*, which is not identical, being a desubstantive formation.

[3] See above, p. 60.

not employ it in this connection, but had recourse to a new-formation. Then, when coining a new word with the sense of 'fore-rider', the other word *forerynel* was so prominent in his mind as an "inducing morphem" that he created a new *-el*-formation in spite of the existence of another ag.-n. derived from *rīdan*, viz. *ridda* (cp. *bedrida*), which is also Ælfric's word for 'rider' and a usual word in his texts, too (see *an*-formations). Cp. also remarks on semology below.

To judge from the O. E. ag.-n. material formed with *l*-suffix, there will thus seem to exist only one single case where the suffix *-ilo*, or rather *-el*, was used *in O. E. times* to form a nom. ag. To answer the question definitely, however, whether the agent-forming faculty of our suffix had really altogether ceased in pre-English times already, we had perhaps better cast a glance at the state of things in M. E., too, which can easily be done with the aid of Güte's treatise on "Die productiven Suffixe der persönl. Konkreta im Me.", where he deals also (p. 53 ff.) with the O. E. *el*-suffix.

The number of M. E. *el*-words given by him [I cannot, of course, guarantee the exhaustiveness of his material; indeed, I gave above (p. 62) one example of such a word which is not found in his work (*vorʒenʒlen* Lay. 25082)] is very small; most of them, however, are given as "Neubildungen" (not "Erbwörter aus dem Altenglischen"). Yet it will be found that none of the new-formations given by him are nom. ag. derived from verbs. Some of them have arisen through "Suffixerweiterung" *(er > erel)*, whereby the agential sense of the original form is often modified; as, for instance, in *sokerel* 'suckling' < *sokere*, where the addition of *-el* transforms the ag.-n. into a diminutive, or *dottrelle* 'a silly person' < *dote* 'a dotard', where the *-rel*-suffix (coming from words of the type of *sokerel*) serves to increase the opprobrious sense of the primitive word[1]. Others are denominative formations of other than agential character, and in other words the Fr. suffix *-el(le)* will be found. Only in one of his words are we concerned, according to his own explanation, with a M. E. new-formation from a verb, which word would then be an ag.-n., viz. *sauntrelle* (*ἅπ. λεγ.*) 'saunterer, stroller' : *sauntren*, N. E. *saunter* < O. Fr. *s'aventurier*. This word, however, which is rather uncertain as regards both form and sense, will be better interpreted, with N. E. D.

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[1] Güte p. 55.

("perhaps"), as a variant of *saintrell* 'pretended saint' < O. Fr.
sainterel, diminutive of *saint*, and is thus quite a different word
with quite a different meaning from what Güte supposes.

SÜTTERLIN, p. 39, makes no definite pronouncement as to the
vitality of the suffix in *O. E.*, only in Engl. on the whole. He writes:
"Auch auf dem Gebiet des Englischen ist das Suffix untergegangen.
Von den im Ags. so zahlreichen Adj. ist — ausser ags. ficol, ne.
fickle kaum eines mehr in der Schriftsprache erhalten". Conse-
quently, we find no indication as to the time when, in the course
of the development of the English language, the suffix ceased to
be a productive one.

In the above investigation, we have arrived at the result that
only in one case was -*el* used in O. E. as an ag.-forming suffix in
a new-formation, and then only in a case where the inducing
morphem was very active and was, indeed, of a most "inducing"
character. We have also found that the suffix did not form nom.
ag. from verbs in M. E. It can thus be set down as a fact, it
seems, that *Teut. -ilo, O. E. -el, as an agent-forming suffix, was
not productive in O. E.*, unless particularly strong attraction from
a word of great similarity was at work (cp. also d), below). A
living suffix it was, however, insofar as its character of an ag.-
forming element was felt; the association between the verb and
the derived ag.-n., as well as the semological relation between
them, was still prominent.

d) Semology of el-formations.

From the points of view taken up above in the Introduction,
the semology of the *el*-formations affords very little of interest. They
are almost all of them *denominational ag.-n.* So are all the words
designating *things, plants,* and *animals* — which constitute, in-
deed, the majority (see below) — and so are also most of the
person-denoting words, viz. *birele, [þwincel], fenʒel, penʒel, hus-
bryceel, forerynel* (in the existing records at least this word is always
used as a characterizing ag.-n.), *forridel, widerwenʒel, mānfor-
dǣdla, bydel.*[1] As regards the last word, *bydel*, it is clearly deno-
minational in sense 3, where it is calling-denoting, and so also ge-
nerally in senses 1. and 2., since it is only used of persons whose
office was that of a preacher. On the border of *assertive* and
denominational sense, it seems, however, to occur in the instance

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[1] Cp. records given above, generally given with context.

Ælfc Hom I 4[12]: fela ӡedrecednyssa and earfoðnyssa becumað on ðissere worulde — — — sa synd þa *bydelas* þæs eean forwyrdes on yfelum. As for *rynel*, its sense is not exactly to be stated; it occurs only as a gloss of cursor, which means both 1. runner and 2. courier — generally the latter; probably it is denominational. As *assertive* ag.-n. will have to be regarded *efter-* and *fore-ӡenӡel*, yet approaching the denominational sense. *Crypel* has altogether assumed, in O. E., the character of a concrete nom. virt.

The *l*-suffix in O. E. was thus essentially connected with denominational meaning. That such should be the case is also quite natural and *a priori* to be expected. Of words formed while the suffix was still productive, only those have survived that have become stereotyped as ordinary appellatives, whereas for the others — if such ever existed — words representing later modes of formation have generally been substituted. The cause of this phenomenon in the different cases is to be sought in the primitive word, as well as in the suffix, as an example will easily show. Of the three chief senses of O. E. *bydel* given above, the sense 3. *('beadle')* — with a great many different applications in N. E., see N. E. D. — has alone survived; i.e., the sense that was most clearly denominational, in which the word is a calling-denoting ag.-n. with little connection — in N. E. no connection at all — with the primitive word. The other senses in which the sb. retained a closer connection with the verb have, as a matter of course, become extinct, because the primitive word, O. E. *bēodan*, has undergone great formal changes and has been supplanted in a great many uses by other verbs, so as to make association between sb. and vb. impossible. Now it is in the very nature of an assertive ag.-n that it should be closely associated with a certain verb in a certain sense, and the subst. (ag.-n.) must not exhibit any very great specialisation of sense in relation to the verb. Hence it will be a clear corollary that, as a rule, only productive suffixes appear in any language with the function of forming assertive ag.-n. As for *-ilo-* *(-el)*, it was, in O. E., at the stage when the productivity of the suffix was lost, but when the association between the vb. and the sb. was still fairly prominent (cp. above p. 72).

Another semological aspect of agential *lo*-formations is, however, of greater interest than the one from which they have just been discussed, viz., that involving the question of what is designated by them. The following table will be enough to show how,

from that point of view, they distribute themselves among the different categories. Uncertain ag.-n are printed in small type.

	Names of "things"	Plant-names	Animal-names	Person-designating ag.-n.
Obscured ag.-n. in O.E.	sprindel wifel 'arrow' eʒle 'ail' ewydele awel, -ul wapol ēarendel sp(r)ecel, occurring in plant-name -pyttel, occ. in animal-name	{ hnydele { hydele [haran sprecel] hrǣtele	emel iʒil wifel 'beetle' eʒle, 'dormouse' winewincle wesle fuʒol [blĕri-pyttel]	ʒīsel [wincel] wiðerwenʒel fenʒel þenʒel
Felt as ag.-n. in O.E.	rynel, 'river' (samod)rynelas earseripel ōʒenʒel hrisel			forridel bydel [crypel] rynel forerynel husbrycel æfter-, foreʒenʒel birele mānfordǣdla

It is interesting to observe that nearly all the person-designating el-formations that were felt as ag.-n. in O. E. are united into one semological group, insofar as their primitive words are verbs of motion and as they very often express 'one preceding somebody' (often to announce somebody or something). Such is the case with the only new-formation met with in O. E., viz., forridel, as was even before the case with forerynel, rynel (probably), and also bydel though not derived from a verb of motion, cp. records above p. 58 f., also in the sense of 'beadle', as the oldest O. E. record shows (he com beforan Criste on middanʒeard, swa se morʒensteorra cymð beforan þære sunnan swa swa bydel beforan deman cymð, ond swa swa byme clypeð beforan cyninʒe Mart. 104⁵) —. For æfter- and foreʒenʒel the same thing may be said to be true, only the sense is, in those cases, one

preceding or succeeding somebody from a temporal, not local, point of view — note also that *foreʒenʒel* is retained much longer than *æfterʒenʒel*, which falls out of use very early, being supplanted by *æfterʒenʒa* and *æfterfylʒend*. In the concrete nom. virtutis *erypel*, the primitive word is also a verb of motion, and in *birele* motion is likewise implied: the servant carrying about the cups of beer and wine to the guests. Only in *husbrycel* — if that word was much used, which is scarcely likely, since it is only found once as a glossword: moreover it may be an original adj., in this case used substantively, cp. above p. 60 f. — does a somewhat different word occur, but it will have been likely, if heard or used, to have conveyed to the Anglo-Saxon the sense of 'one walking about (in the night) and breaking into houses (to steal)'. One might, indeed, feel inclined, from an *O. E.* point of view and as far as *person-designating nom. ag.* are concerned, to style this word-formative element *the suffix of wandering professions*.

e) Remarks concerning style and chronology.

It will be clear from the semological character of the *ilo*-subst., that they are common and ordinary prose words. Only in two cases, viz., the words *fenʒel* (*penʒel*) and *mānfordǣdla* (so also *ʒeniðla*), have we before us exclusively poetical words, both of the nature of kennings. It is worth noting that the most usual O. E. *el*-word, viz. *bydel*, is never recorded in poetry (cp. *boda*).

As regards chronology, no difference of any importance between early and late O. E. is to be found. The *ilo*-formations in existence were, as has been shown, inherited from an earlier epoch and were generally used throughout the O. E. period. Only in a few cases, in *fenʒel, penʒel,* and *mānfordǣdla,* i. e., the existing poetical *ilo*-formations, do we find words belonging only to the oldest literature, and the person-designating *ʒenʒel-* cpp. certainly represent an older usage than the synonymous *ʒenʒa*-cpp. or other synonymous words, though *foreʒenʒel* is recorded also in late O. E., and even once in M. E. Some of the O. E. *el*-agents live on also in M. E. times, and a very few have been retained up to the present day, though their character of ag.-n. was, of course, lost long ago.

As regards the reasons for the extinction of our suffix, SÜT-TERLIN (p. 39) writes: "Ein Grund für den Untergang unseres suf-

fixes in allen germanischen Dialekten lässt sich wohl kaum an-
geben. Lautliche Verhältnisse können dabei schwerlich in Betracht
gekommen sein. Denn auch nach Abschwächung des Mittelvokals
fiel das Bildungselement immer noch in die Ohren."

Before answering the question, Why a word-formative element,
in this case the *l*-suffix as agent-forming, has become extinct in
a certain language, it is necessary to investigate the rival means
of word-formation, since these latter might possess certain positive ad-
vantages, against which the word-formative element in question, even
though it may have had no special drawbacks, could not maintain itself.
Yet I think the *ilo*-formations will have had a few disadvantages
which made them succumb in the struggle with other suffixes.
Thus, for instance, — and here comes, indeed, "ein lautliches Ver-
hältnis in Betracht" — the weak vowel of the stem of these for-
mations, which we found constituted the prevalent Ablaut-grade
will decidedly have been a disadvantage, and — as was certainly also
the case with the *an*-agents, which will be dealt with in a later
part of my treatise — a contributory factor in the extinction of the
type. According to Teutonic usage, verbal derivatives with active
sense attach themselves to the present forms of the verbs. Now
there was not in O. E. a single person-designating *el*-noun in com-
mon use that was derived from a weak verb, but all were deri-
vatives from strong verbs with the vowel of the pa. ptc. Another
reason for the extinction of the suffix will certainly also have
been its ambiguous character. As was remarked above (p. 42 ff.),
the *ilo*-suffix occurs in a great many functions, and functions of
a most varied character, too, without any difference in form in dif-
ferent uses. It was very usual in "Konkretbenennungen" of va-
rious descriptions, above all as a means of forming nom. instru-
menti. As a person-denoting suffix, on the other hand, it was
chiefly felt to possess diminutive force — thus, for example,
in personal names; thus, above all, the idea of littleness asso-
ciated itself with the suffix at the expense of other senses; cp.
the state of things in M. E., which is very illustrative of this
fact, and, in my mind, quite conclusive. — The foreign -*āri*(*us*),
-*ere* certainly had greater attractions for the ancient Anglo-Saxons
(Teutons) as a means of expressing their callings.

Chapter 2: Nomina agentis in -end.

Introductory remarks.

The suffix with which we are here going to deal is the specific means used since I. E. times to form the *active ptc.* I then disregard the fact that the formations made with this suffix are, as regards their *origin*, not verbal forms at all, but *adj.*, which, later on, associated themselves with certain tenses of verbs, their form making it possible to interpret them as formations from a tense-stem, as well as from the root; and they thus passed over into real verbal forms.[1]

Beside its use for the formation of the active ptc., the suffix. -*nt*- (-*n̥t*-, -*ent*-) also assumed the function of forming *ag.-n.* of the root in question, later on also of the verb. To what extent such nom. ag. are root-formations cannot be decided, but so much is fairly certain, that many of them never belonged to a particular tense-stem, and, consequently, never passed through the ptc. stage, but are evidently formations made directly from the root. Such a word surviving in O. E., as well as in the other Teut. languages, is, probably, *tōþ* 'tooth', Goth. *tunþus* etc., L. *dens*, I. E. **dent- (?)*, **dont-*, **dn̥t*.[2]

Such words, however, as far as they survive in O. E. or other Teut. dialects, are there etymologically obscured, the sense of their originally agential character having been lost long before in pre-Germanic times, and so they do not fall within the scope of our subject. For our purpose, we may be allowed to regard the O. E. *end*-nouns as pres. ptcc. used substantively, with the function of nom. ag., or,

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[1] BRUGMANN 2:1 § 344 and the literature there quoted, § 516; PAUL, Prinzipien⁴ § 254.

[2] BRUGMANN 2:1 § 350; WILMANNS § 266 Anm., where two or three other obscured "participial nouns" are mentioned. Cp. also MÜLLER, Handbuch II: 2, p. 177.

perhaps rather, as *substantival* e n d-formations of the verb, corresponding to the *verbal or adjectival* e n d e-formations of the same verb.

e n d-suff.
used to form
nom. ac-
tionis.
In a few isolated cases, a suffix -*e n d* appears with another function than that of forming nom. ag. Apart from *duʒuð* and *ʒeoʒuð*, we find in THIELE[1] the following three words: *londbūend*, f. 'Ansiedelung', *lēoht-scēawiʒend*, m. 'Sehen des Lichtes', both formed from verbs, and *þēofend*, -*ent*, late Northu. *þēofunt*, f. 'Diebstahl', which seems to be formed from a sb. (*þēof*). Of these words, however, one is certainly misunderstood, viz. *lēohtscēawiʒend*,[2] the only record of the word being, as far as I know, Cl. gl. 434[20] : *leohtsceawiʒend lueirida*, which L. word[3] can scarcely be anything else than a sb of the type of *lucifuga, agricola, scriba*[4], and with the sense of 'light-seer', which is also, of course, the best explanation of the O. E. word.[5] On the other hand, I can add to THIELE's instances the words *ieldend* and *waniend :* næs þa næniʒ *yldend* to þam þæt — L. mora, Prosa-Guþl. 129 V 135 London Ms. (Verc. fragm. has *yldinʒ*); þæt byð his ʒoda *waniʒend* Progn. 172₄ (Ms. *T wanunʒ*). Thus, both words occur side by side with variants of a commoner type and are ἅπ. λεγ., which is also the case with the word *landbūend* quoted above, translating L. colonia in Wunder d. Ostens I,1 (both Mss.),[6] whereas, ibid. II 1 *londbunis* (var. *lanbunes*) is used. So any certain conclusions as to other functions of the *end*-suff., or as to scattered relics of other uses, eventually occurring more frequently in earlier times, cannot be drawn from such scanty and uncertain material. It may be noted, however, that all forms, except *þēofend*, occur in late and even the latest O. E. texts.[7]

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[1] Kons. suff. d. Abstr. im Ae. § 12 anm. 1 (p. 26).

[2] Adopted by THIELE from SW., who gives *leohtsceawiʒend m. lightseeing*. BT. also renders it by *lightseeing*, and so seems to regard it as an adj.

[3] Not given in the usual L. dictionaries (classical and mediæval).

[4] As for this type, see MÜLLER, Handbuch II: 2 p. 187.

[5] I regret not having been able to discover the source of the gloss.

[6] *Seo landbuend on fruman from Antimolima.*

[7] In this connection, another form should also be mentioned, viz. *ʒebūend* transl. L. domicilium Blickl. Hom. 163[12], though M. FÖRSTER, Arch. 122,₂₄₈ f. note (cp. HOLTHAUSEN, Arch. 123,₄₀₁), is certainly right in reading in this connection *ʒebūed* = O. H. G. *gabūid* 'Gebäude' (cp. KLUGE, St. l. § 99).

As regards this group — if *p̄rofend* and the other words are to be put on a par with each other, for which the gender of *landbūend* speaks —, which is still waiting for an altogether satisfactory explanation. I refer to THIELE, ibid., and the literature quoted there.[1]

With the agential *end*-formations must not be confounded certain other words in -*end*, of a totally different character. These words are:

[*borhhand* 'fideiussor', see SÜTTERLIN p. 24, who has thus even before SCHLUTTER[2] regarded this word as a participial formation, a supposition the obvious erroneousness of which has been shown by HOLTHAUSEN.[3] The word is a cp. of *borh* and *hand*. SÜTTER-LIN's form **borhhend* (after *Hz.*) is not recorded.]

elpend 'elephant' < L. *elephantem* = Med. L. **elpant-*.[4]

olfend, earlier *olfenda* 'camel', probably < Med. L. **oliphant*. cp. O. Fr. *olifant*.[5]

In addition to the words given in the two preceding paragraphs, there are a few other nouns in -*end* that are, probably or possibly, not originally agential, though their real character cannot be stated on account of their obscure etymology. In the case of two or three of them, agential character has been assumed by some scholars. These words are:

eowend (*ēo* or *eo*?) 'Zeugungsglied': ჳif þeowmonn þeowne to ned-hæmde ჳenede, bete mid his *eowende* Af 25,₁ (Ms. H. eowede; Q testi-culos perdat). According to HOLTHAUSEN,[6] who gives *ēowend* with a long diphthong, as do all O. E. dictionaries, it is a nom. ag. to *ēow(i)an* 'zeigen', thus 'Zeiger' > 'Finger' > penis, and he adduces by way of comparison M. H. G. 'der eilfte vinger', an etymology that does not carry conviction.[7]

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[1] Note also the type of O. E. adj. in -*lic*, compounded with *end*-nouns for a first member, e. g. *ieldendlic* 'zögernd'. See SCHÖN, Bildung d. Adj. im Ae. § 122.

[2] Anglia XIX 483.

[3] Anglia XXI 236, compl. Anglia XXV 392.

[4] See JORDAN p. 19 f., PALANDER p. 148 ff.

[5] See JORDAN p. 132, PALANDER p. 100 ff.

[6] Arch. 121,₂₉₃.

[7] *ēowan* (*iewan*) means 'show, lay open to the eye' (etym. connected with *ēaჳe*), cp. *bīecnan*, 'to show by signs, point out', with the nom. ag. *bīecnend*, just with the sense of 'forefinger' (but not 'finger' in general). The latter verb would form a more natural semological basis for such a sense-development as

ẓesend (ẓesen, iesend, isen), 'entrails', gl. L. exta, sometimes
with the additional gloss innelfe: Cl. gl. 393[11], 396[22], 521[33], 532[22],
Harl. gl. 231[39].[1]

nowend, nowent 'master of a ship, sailor': nautorum þara nome-
menta Bd. gl. 53; nowent — L. nauta Greg. 346[35]; 347[2, 9, 16]; þam
nowende ib. 347[15]; naucleri steormannes nowendes Ae. gl. Bd (Zup.
ZfdA. 31, p. 30); Hpt. gl. 406b[19]; Nap. gl. 1,32; 7,12; New Aldh. gl. 8;
naucleri, nauclerus est dominus navis, nowendes Nap. gl. 5,8; nau-
cleri nowende 8,6. Another instance is given by Nap. in his gl.
1,32 note: sanctus Michael and so æðela nowend and se ẓleawa
frumlida etc. Ms. 41 Corp. Chr. Coll. Camb. p. 411.

The word is too often recorded to be explained away, with
Bouterw., Hpt. gl. 406 b[19], as a scribal error for rōwend. Napier,[2] as
does Leo before him,[3] compares the word with O. N. naust 'ship-shed',
nór 'ship', L. navis, prim. Teut. *nōu-, and it certainly cannot be
disassociated from these words. But as no verb with this stem is
known in any language, it cannot well be an originally participial
noun. Two possibilities then occur to me, of which the first will
perhaps be the more likely one. Either it is an I. E. uent-forma-
tion, cp. such words in Sanskr. as vastravant 'having a dress',
denoting, consequently, a person having, being provided with
what the primitive word expresses.[4] Or it is a word formed with
the suffix prim. Teut. -ana, -ina,[5] used to form denominative words
denoting 'Vorgesetzte', cp. Goth. þindans, O. E. þēoden : þēod, O. E.
dryhten : dryht, L. dominus : domus. In that case, an original
*nōwen (< *nōu-ana; not Teut. *nouina, which would have given

H. assumes in this case, than rōwan does. The O. E. law-term for a word with this
sense, moreover, will undoubtedly be an old word and not quite vulgar, where-
as a popular rowend, connected with rōwan, must have had a smack of
jocularity and vulgarity that made it unfit for use in a law-text. The word
is probably of another, altogether obscured, origin.
    [1] By way of suggestion, I connect the word, for which I have seen no
etymology, with O. N. gisinn 'leaky' (Cl. Vigf.), orig. a p. pte. of *gisa I 'gäh-
nen, sich öffnen', though I leave undecided the question as to what sort of
formation it can be; prim. Teut. *ẓisan- > *ẓesan- > W. S. ẓiesen. Angl. ẓesen,
with the initial sound sometimes spelt i (Bülbring § 56, anm. 2). As regards
the sense, cp. O. E. þearm, G. Darm etc. < *þarma = Gr. τόρμος 'Loch, Öff-
nung', 'bung-hole', orig. 'Durchgang' (Kluge. Et. Wtb.: F.-T.).
    [2] Anecd-Oxon. 1,32, note.
    [3] Glossar p. 601.
    [4] Brugmann, 2: 1, § 353.
    [5] Kluge, St. I. § 20.

*nēn, cp. Bülbring § 465) must have been attracted by the end-nouns, especially the phonologically and semologically similar rōw-end, existing already in the earliest O. E. (see p. 89). Both explanations suit the sense of the word, for in both cases it must mean 'one who possesses or commands a ship', and its L. lemma nauclerus just means 'Schiffsherr, Schiffspatron'. As for the spelling with -t, cp. Bülbr. § 566.

*prōwend 'scorpion': Teut. *prö̆u̯-'erschrecken, drohen'.[1] According to Whitman[2], source unknown. See further Cort. ibid.

*wāsend 'gullet, throat' gl. rumen and ingluviæ. For records see BT. + Nap. gl. Cp. O. H. G. weisont (-unt), O. Frs. wâsende, E. weasand (< O. E. *wæsend, which is not recorded as Fick, p. 180, seems to suppose), Teut. *waisundi.[3]

wesend, weosend, 'bison'.[4]

swǣsende, n., pl.-u, 'food, dinner; blandishments' : swǣs 'own, familiar (*swǣsan?); cp. swǣsend-daʒas beside swǣsing-daʒas 'ides'.

I have thought fit to give the above survey of non-agential or uncertain end-nouns, because the suffix in question is, otherwise, exclusively used for the formation of nom. ag., and words of another character are so extremely few, in comparison with the certain ag.-n. As far as possible, therefore, one is inclined to regard dubious end-nouns as originally nom. ag., and some of the words in preceding paragraph may be such, too. *(margin: Nouns and verbs.)*

But if, for the majority of end-formations, there is no difficulty at all in fixing their agential character, there is another difficulty peculiar to these very formations, and that is the difficulty that sometimes arises in fixing their nominal, or rather substantival, character; what is dubious about such "nom. ag." is not that they express an agent, but that they are nouns. In some cases, we are not at all entitled to speak of nom. ag., though the ptc. seems to be used more or less like a sb., and confusion can sometimes arise. These uses of the pr. ptc. are the following:

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[1] Cortelyou, Ae. Namen d. Ins., p. 100.

[2] Anglia XXX 392.

[3] Cp. Hertzberg and Zacher, ZfdPh 10,383 ff., and Bugge, PBB 24,450.

[4] See Jordan p. 158, Palander p. 133, and also Wood, Germ. Phil. II 220. and Lidén, IF. 19,347.

a) as *appositive ptc.*,[1] e. g. hwilum *flitende* fealwe stræte mearum mæton B. 916, where *flitende* had better be regarded as app. ptc. to the subject implied in *mæton*, not as the subject itself. Dubious cases are not rare.

b) as *adjectival ptc.* with head-word omitted : beoð fulran on‧ weaxendum monan þonne on *waniȝendum* Byrhtf. 327²².

c) as *temporal verb-forms : wyreende* wæron (= worhton), also if inflected like a sb. (carelessly or dialectally) : *wyreend* wæs Du. Ri. 10,(7) — L. operatus est.

In such ambiguous cases the chief guide for distinguishing the substantival forms from the adjectival and verbal ones is, of course, the flexion, and one might think that there could be no doubt as to the character of a form, as long as there are various forms for the different functions of *end(e)*-words. The flexion is, however, no absolutely decisive criterion. The substantival words, as is well known, have sometimes adopted adjectival flexion in certain cases, instead of, or as well as, their own, and then it will be seen that, in spite of the existence of separate forms for substantival and other *end(e)*-forms, the ptcc. are sometimes used substantivally with retained adjectival flexion. As the settling of this question, and of some others connected with the flexion of *end(e)*-forms, is of essential importance for the understanding of the ag.-n. in *-end*, and as there does not exist, as far as I know, any special investigation into the matter as regards O. E., except the general statements made by SIEVERS, in his Ags. Gr. § 286, I have felt obliged to devote a few pages to this subject, and, consequently, in an excursus, to treat of the flexion of the substantival pr. ptc., before going on to deal with these ptcc. as expressing the agent.

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[1] See MORGAN CALLAWAY, Appos. Ptc. in Ags., Publications of MLAA. IX p. 141 ff.

Excursus.

On the Flexion of the Substantival Pr. Ptc.

With the exception of *fēond* and *frēond* with cpp. and *(ʒōd)-dōnd*, which preserve fairly well their original flexion as cons. stems, the O. E. pr. ptc., when used substantivally, is inflected in the following way (cp. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 286):

	sing.		plur.
na.	æfterfylʒend		æfterfylʒend, -e, -as
g.	-es		-ra
d.	-e		-um [1]

Adjectival flexion thus prevails in gpl. and occurs alternatively in napl. Whether these are the only forms in which a ptc. can be used substantivally with its adjectival flexion will be seen below.[2]

The flexion of a ptc., consequently, is a criterion of its substantival character only in some cases, and it can be given as a subst., i. e. as an *end*-form (not *ende*-form), only if it is recorded in nsg, dsg, or asg, or in napl with the flexion of a cons.-stem or with the ending *-as*.[3]

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[1] The only word with all the given forms recorded. Sievers's paradigm is *hettend*, which is not recorded in gdsg, or in napl in the form with *-as*.

[2] In verbal and adjectival uses, the ptc. is inflected like a *ja-, jō*-st. (Sievers § 305).

[3] Exceptionally, however, the ptc. is found with the ending *-end*, even in verbal and adjectival use. Thus, for instance, sometimes when it is used predicatively (Wright, OEGr. § 441); exceptionally, too, when used as app. ptc., e. g., *þus cweðend*, Ags. Chron. A. D. 33, cp. the usual *þus cweðende;* for further details, see Callaway p. 150 f. Sometimes, however, it is most dubious whether a substantival or verbal (adjectival) function is intended. Is *willend* sb. or (exceptionally uninflected) verbal ptc. in *he wæs willend þære healican cumliþnesse*, Greg. 301[19] — L. hospitalitatis præcipue studens? I regard it rather as a verb.

Also, I must leave the state of things in the Northu. dialect out of consideration, as it is quite different from that of other dialects. For details, as regards Northu., I refer to Carpenter, Dekl. in d. Nordh. Ev.-übers. d. Lind. Hschr. §§ 532, 533, cp. §§ 25, 26, 193.

<div style="float:left">*Inconsistency of dictionaries in entering end-nouns.*</div>

In treating of the ag.-n. in -*end*, I have often had occasion to indicate the inconsistency and arbitrariness that is prevalent in the dictionaries as regards the entry of a sb. in -*end* or not, and the form of the entered word. I quite ignore, then, such glossaries as do not at all observe the difference between *end*-form and *ende*-form, but always use the same one. But also in others, where that distinction is observed — and that is the case with most of the dictionaries and glossaries I have employed, especially, BT., Sw., Cl.H. and Gr.-K. — the inconsistencies to be found are very numerous. A few instances will illustrate what I mean:

*cr̄opend, 'reptile', is *not entered* as a sb. *by any dictionary*. *Records:* eall flaesc - - -, manna and fuʒela, nytena and *creopendra* Genes. 7,21; ofer ealle ʒesceafta and ofer ealle *þa creopende* þe stirað on eorðan ib. 1,26.

*slincend, 'reptile', is *entered* as a sb. m. n. by BT., sb. m. by Sw. *Records:* fram þam *slincendum* oð ða fuʒelas Genes. 6,7; ealle *slincenda* – L. omnia reptilia Lamb. Ps. 103,25:[1] *slincende* Spl. Ps. ib.,[1] Ar. Ps. 68,35.

*laʒuswimmend, 'fish', is *entered* as a sb. by BT. and Sw., *not* by Cl.H. and Gr.-K.

*lyftflēoʒend, 'bird', is *entered* by BT., Sw., and Cl.H., *not* by Gr.-K.

Records: him to mose sceall ʒeʒanʒan ʒeara ʒehwelce ʒrundbuendra, *lyftfleoʒendra, laʒuswemmendra,* ðria ðreoteno ðusendʒerimes Sal. 289.

*ʒalend, 'enchanter', is *entered* by Sw. and Cl.H., *not* by BT. *Records:* ʒalendra in interlinear glosses gl. incantantium, e. g., Ps. gl. 57,6, which L. ptc. is in the context used substantivally. Cp., however, *ʒaldorʒalend,* a clear sb. As a rule, such ptc. are not entered as sb. in the dictionaries, which principle must be regarded as correct. Any ptc., occurring only in glosses, (including interlinear glosses) and corresponding to a L. ptc. (in substantival use or not) will be left out of consideration.

*āfrœmmend is *entered* as a sb., though with adjectival sense, (: legis praecepta conficiens, religiosus) by Gr.-K., *not* by BT., Sw., or Cl.H.

Record: Forðon ic leof weorud læran wille *æfremmende* þæt ʒe etc. J. 648.

Numbers of other examples could be given. It seems, therefore, to be quite necessary to try to avoid this confusion and

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[1] According to BT.

to distinguish between the ptcc. that are really recorded as sb. and
those that are not. In that connection, it will also be indispens-
able to settle whether substantival use of a ptc. is possible with
retained adjectival flexion, and, if it is, to what extent. And,
finally, the different plural forms of the nom. and acc. cases and
the nature of the difference between them ought to be investigated.[1]

I combine these tasks in treating of each case separately.
First, I shall investigate the forms of the nom. and acc. pl., and
then I shall proceed to deal with the other cases, insofar as
they show a flexion, in substantival use, that differs from the
one given in the above paradigm.

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[1] Some of the questions dealt with below, and some details there, would
have had to be treated of in the treatise itself, if this excursus had not been
made.

I. Nominative and Accusative Plural.

A. Substantival Flexion: No Ending, or -as(-ras).

1. Words without ending.

A. Poetry.[1]

Recorded cases of napl.

Cpp. **æsc-berend**: nalas late wæron eorre æscberend to þam orleȝe
A. 47: eorre æscberend opene fundon A. 1076; weras
cwanedon, ealde æscberend; wæs him ut myne A. 1537.

ȝǣst ~ : Oft ic ȝæstberend cwelle compwæpnum Rä. 21,9;
þæt þas ȝæstberend ȝeman nellað Cr. III 1600; fela bið
- - / ȝeonȝra ȝeofona þa þa ȝæstberend weȝað in ȝewitte
Cræ. 2.

ȝǎr ~ : hiredmenn - -, / ȝrame ȝarberend, and ȝod bædon By.
262.

helm ~ : ȝeȝrette þa ȝumena ȝehwylcne. / hwate helmberend
hindeman siðe B. 2515; usic ȝarwiȝend ȝode tealde / hwate
helmberend, þeah þe hlaford us B. 2642.

hearmcweðend: he þa hearmcweðend hyneð and byȝað Par. Ps.
71.5 (cp. L. sg: calumniatorem).

wiðerfeohtend: þæt ȝe - - wearde healden þy læs eow wiðer-
feohtend / weȝes forwyrnen to wuldres byriȝ Jul. 664.

rīdend: reote berofene : ridend swefað B. 2457.

scēotend: Sceotend swæfon þa þæt hornreced healdan scoldon
B. 703; sceotend Scyldinȝa to scipe feredon B. 1154;
þonne ȝarȝetrum / ofer scildhreadan sceotend sendað Cr.
II 675; fana hwearfode scir on sceatte; sceotend þohton
/ Italia ealle ȝeȝonȝan Metr. 1.11; scildburh scæron; sceo-
tend wæron ȝude ȝeȝremede Jud. 305.

Cp. **ymb-sittend**: þæt þec ymbsittend eȝsan þywad B. 1827.

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[1] The existing records are, in general, given in their metrical and syn-
tactical context.

Cp. *frumsprecend* : þam þe frumsprecend folces wæron Par. Ps. 86,5.

wiȝend : ȝewiton him þa wiȝend wica neosian B. 1125; so also 1814;
 3024; 3144; F. 11; 49; ȝelædde þa wiȝend weroda drih-
 ten Gen. 1411; Ex. 180;[1] 328;[1] A. 850; 1053; 1203; E.
 106; stodon fæste / wiȝan on ȝewinne; wiȝend cruncon /
 wundum weriȝe By. 302; Jud. 69; 141; 313.

cp. *ȝār ~* : þe be usic ȝarwiȝend ȝode tealde B. 2644.

āȝend : æhta and aȝend eall acwellon Gen. 1353.

bētend : brosnade burȝsteall. Betend crunȝon / berȝas to hrusan Ruin.
 29.

eard(iȝ)end[2] : eorðe is ȝemolten and hire eardend mid Par. Ps. 74,3.

feorm(i)end : fætum befeallen; feormend swefað, / þa þe beadoȝriman
 bywan sceoldon B. 2256.

fērend : het þa ȝefeliȝan ferend snelle J. 60; þæt him þa ferend
 fæste wuniað Wal. 25.

oferhelmend : ic oferhylmend ealle ȝetealde Par. Ps. 118,119.

weriend : on fremdes faeðm : feollon weriend / bryda and beaȝa, ben-
 num seoce Gen. 1971; wera wuldorȝesteald. Weriȝend
 laȝon / on deaðstede, drihtfolca mæst Ex. 588.

b). Prose.

helpend : we sceoldon beon - - - wudewena helpend and steopcilda
 ariȝend and earmra retend and wependra frefriend Wulfst.
 257[4].

ymbsittend : eode in to þam bysceope and hine ȝrette and þa ymb-
 sittend —L. convivas Bd V 513 O, B, T (Ms. Ca ymb-
 sittendan).

āriȝend : Wulfst. 257[4] (see *helpend*).

būend : erest weron buȝend þises landes Brittes Chron. 3[4] E.[3] Cp.
 napl. *buendo* Lind. Mk. 12,7; L. 20,14, 16; *londbuend* Mt.
 21,31, 35; *londbuendo* Mt. 21,38; Mk. 12,9.

eardiȝend : þa eardiȝend þære ceastre Greg. 192[3].

frēfriend : Wulfst. 257[5] (see *helpend*).

ȝehīerend : þæt he ȝeseah þa his ȝehyrend þone Eastordæȝ onfon
 — L. suos auditores Bd V 3172.

rētend : Wulfst. 257[4] (see *helpend*).

timbriend : þæs huses timbriend wæron wyrcende Greg. 322[2].

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[1] GRAZ, ESt. 21,3, reads, as SIEVERS before him, *wiȝan unforhte*.

[2] Occurs in glosses in the form *eardiȝende* once (see p. 96).

[3] B. T. corrects to *būȝendas*, which is quite uncalled for.

c) Glosses.[1]

berend : geruli berend Cl. gl. 414[24]; 527[25].
ȝaldorȝalend : marsi ȝalderȝalend Cl. gl. 448[22].
ǣwiscfirenend : publicani æwiscferinend Cl. gl. 480[3].

2.   Words with ending -as (-ras).

a) Poetry.

byrȝend : blodiȝe laȝan, nahtan byrȝendas Par. Ps. 78,3.

b) Prose.

efenlǣcend : ænie efenlæcendras his mæȝena — L. imitatores suos in virtutibus Greg. 23[1] H.
lufiȝend : þurhwunian æfre lufiȝendras Cart. Sax. I 155[1]; wisdom ȝedeð his lufiȝendas wise and weorðe Boeth. 62[27]; þas andweardan ȝood - - ne ȝedon hiora lufiendas swa weliȝe (swa swa) hie woldon 73[20]; heo (= seo woruld) ne can aberan hire lufiȝendas Ælfc Hom. II 392,9.
rēafiȝend : biscopas and ealdormen, and þeode wealdendras, þæt ȝe syn Cristes cyrcan reafȝendras, ac þæt ȝe syn ȝeornfulle beweriendras Cristes aȝenre landare KCD 715 III 350,12 (A. D. 1006).
reccend : heom ȝesette ȝewisse prafostas and reccendas Greg. 119[21].
beweriend : See above *rēafiȝend*.

c) Glosses.

āstīȝend : ascensores astiȝendas Reg. Hy. 4,4.
belīfend : superstites laua belifendreas beliuene Hpt. gl. 484a[3] = superstites, i. vivi, lafa, beliuendras Nap. gl. 1,3313.
forhœbbende : celibes forhæbbendras Nap. gl. 1,1254 (cp. 1,1002).
lārhlystend : catacuminos, ȝecristnode, larhlystendras Nap. gl. 1,2881 = Hpt. gl. 473b,2; cp. et competentes and ȝeleafhlystende Nap. gl. 7,202, where the L. ptc. (in the L. text) is used substantivally.
lufiȝend : am(at)ores lufiȝendras Scint. 14[3].

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[1] Only such gloss-words as correspond to L. sb. are considered.

3. Words without ending or with ending -as (-ras.)

Without ending	With ending -as (-ras).

a) Poetry.

wealdend : Woriað þa winsalo,
waldend licȝað / dreame bi-
drorene Wand. 78; þæt hie
wæron seolfe sweȝles bryt-
tan,/wuldres wealdend. Him
þæs wirsȝelamp Sat. 24; [eorð-
ȝrap hafað / waldendwyrhtan
forweorene, forleorone Ruin.
7].

ēhtend : þe min ehtend ealle syn-
don Par. Ps. 34,3 = Ben. Off.
67[17]; þe þu mine ehtend for
me ealle ȝedeme 118,84; me
syndon eahtend unȝemete
neah aa 118,150 (r. ehtend).

þæt mycle mæȝen minra handa /
heora ehtendas ealle fornam
Par. Ps. 80,13; and his ehten-
das ealle aflyme 88,20.

wierȝend : and mine werȝend wra-
ðe ȝehyrde Par. Ps. 91,10.

b) Prose.

rōwend : þæt scip will stiȝan on-
ȝean þone stream, ac hit ne
mæȝ, buton þa rowend hit
teon Past. 445[11].

þa rowendas þæs scipes — L.
nautæ navis Greg. 306[3].

onsittend : þa onsittend þara horsa
Greg. 15[10] O.

þa onsittendas þara horsa Greg.
15[10] H.[1]

wealdend

stiorlease men and recelease wæ-
ron ȝesælie and wealdendas
þisse worulde Boeth. 13[21];
so also 32[11]; 35[30]; ne sint we
nane wealdendas eowres ȝe-
leafan, ac hit fultemend eow-
res ȝefean Past. 115[21]; ne

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[1] þa onsittendan þara horsa ib. ms. C.

sint we nane wealdendas þis-
ses folces 119[24]; þioda cynin-
ʒas bioð þæs folces wealden-
das 121[3]: þeode wealdendras
(see *reafiʒend* p. 88) KCD 715
(A. D. 1006) III 350[12].

ēhtend : he bebead his aldormon-
    num þæt hie wæron cristenra
    manna ehtend Or. 264[27].

fultumiend: Past. 115[25] (see above
    wealdend p. 89); þæt hie beoð
    ðonne fultemend to hiera
    wædle Past. 377[3].

ʒod wolde, þæt his ʒeonʒran eac
    wæron his dæde fultumien-
    das — L. adjutores Greg.
    243[13].

wierʒend

ne ʒytseras, ne drinceras ... ne
    wyrʒendras, þæra muð bið
    symle mid ʒeættrode wyri-
    ʒunʒe afylled L. S. XVII 42.

wrēʒend : eallra heora dome wæs
    cyðed, þæt his wreʒend and
    his ʒesacan . . . . wið hine
    syredon and onsæʒdon — L.
    accusatores eius Bd V 2723.

c) **Glosses.**[1]

wealdend :

(ubi) imperatores (hwar) weal-
    dendras Scint. 215[9]: presides
    wealdendas Germ. 394 b,[327].

onhyrʒend : emulatores onhyrʒend
    Cl. gl. 395[26].

emulatores onhyrʒendras Cl. gl.
    508[23].

wrēʒend

accusatores wreʒendras Scint. 29[4].

hǣlsend : extipices hælsent Co. E
    484.

extipices, aruspices, hælsendas
    Cl. gl. 393[14].

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[1] Note also the occasional occurence of *dras* in Aldh. gl., e. g. insulta-
tores, i. illusores *dras*: Hpt gl 507 b[3] = Nap. gl. 1,[4328]; Hpt gl 424 b[20]; 452 b[12];
506a[2,5] in which cases *end*-nouns are evidently meant. With reference to
these words, see p. 100.

B. Substantival or Adjectival Flexion: No Ending or -(r)as, and -e.

1. Words without ending or with ending -e.

Occurring only in poetry.

Without ending	With ending -e.
reordberend : syððan reordberend reste wunedon Cross 3; Dan. A. 123; rece þa ʒerynu, hu he reordberend / lærde A. 419; hu þec mid ryhte ealle reordberend / hataõ and secʒaõ hæleõ Cr. 1 278.	þa mid ryhte sculon reordberende / earme eorõware - - - / herʒan Cr. 1 381; hataõ arisan reordberende Cr. III 1025.
sǣliõend : secʒaõ sæliõend þæt þes sele stande B. 411; nu we sæliõend secʒan wyllaõ 1818; þæt hit sæliõend syõõan hatan 2806.	þonne sæʒdon þæt sæliõende B. 377; se micla hwæl / se õe biseneeõ sæliõende Walf. 48.
selerǣdend : maniʒe comon/snottre selerædend : symble ʒefeʒon A. 659.	selerædende secʒan hyrde B. 1346.
byrnwiʒend : ne he byrnwiʒend to þam burʒʒeatum / lædan ne wolde Hö. 38.	ealle his weaʒesiõas, / bealde byrnwiʒʒende. Jud. 17[1].
eorõbūend : þa nu æõelinʒas, /ealle eorõbuend Ebrei hataõ Gen. 1648; þonne hit eorõbuend ealle cuõan Cr. I 422; woruld alyseõ / ealle eorõbuend þurh þone æõelan styll Cr. II 719; so also Cr. III 1279; Par. Ps. 65,1,7; 101,13; 118,4: *ealle eorõbuend* forming the	men ʒefremeden / eorõbuende, siõõan Adam weaõ Gen. 1000; þurh þe eorõbuende ealle onfoõ 1759[2]; eorõbuende ealle hataõ 2617; men - - ne ʒeseon meahton / eorõbuende ealle cræfte Ex. 84; þa ytmestan eorõbuende Metr. 10,25; þætte ealle witen eorõbuende 19,13;

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[1] "de in viʒʒende obenher beschädigt" (Gr. W. note).

[2] The emendation of *eorõbuende* into *eorõbuend*, Gen. 1759, made by Jovy. Untersuchungen zur ae. Genesisdichtung. p. 30, because "wie *feond, freond, hettend* der npl. von *buend* keine endung haben darf"(!). is consequently, mere nonsense. There are 10 *e*-forms and 7 forms without *-e*.

first half-verse in all these passages.

ana ofer ealle eorðbuȝende Geb. III 8; and eorðbuende ealle healdest Par. Ps. 66,4; ofer ealle heah / eorðbuende, ece drihten 82,14; ofer ȝeleaffulle eorðbuende 100,6.

feorrbūend : furður feran. Nu ȝe feorrbuend, / mereliðende B. 254.

ðone fuȝol hata ð feorbuende Sal. 279.

foldbūend : fyre befanȝen : hyne foldbuend / wide ȝesawon B. 2274; deað riesade / ofer foldbuend, þeah þe fela wære Gu. 844; findað foldbuend, swa him fæȝere oft Par. Ps. 64,10.

þone - - Grendel nemdon / foldbuende : no hie fæder eunnon B. 1355; þara þe ȝefruȝnon foldbuende E 1013; ðonne mid fere foldbuende / se micla dæȝ - - bihlæmeð Cr. III 868; þæt aseeȝan ne maȝon / foldbuende þurh frod ȝewit Cr. III 1178; ne mostan þe ȝeondferan foldbuende Hö. 101; nales þu ȝeondflowan (mostes) foldbuende Hö. 105; ðæt eorðwaran ealle hæfden / foldbuende fruman ȝelicne Metr. 17,2.

ieȝbūend : eac hie ieȝbuend oðre worde Edə. 4.

swa hine wide ciȝað / ieȝbuende, Enȝla and Seaxe Men. 185.

londbūend : ic þæt londbuend, leode mine, / selerædende secȝan hyrde B. 1345.

loca nu ful wide ofer londbuende Sat. 684; hæleð wæron yrre / londbuende laðum eynne Jud. 226.

sundbūend : þæs þe æfre sundbuend secȝan hyrdon Cr. I 73.

ne hine ȝesawon sundbuende Metr. 8,13; ðone Saturnus sundbuende / hatað 24,21; Saturnus þone sundbuende / heton hæleða bearn 26,18.

hettend : him on healfa ȝehwam hettend seomedon Ex. 209; from hleowstole. Hettend lædon / ut - - Abrahames mæȝ Gen. 2011; ȝaras - - / hetend heoruȝrimme, hildenædran

swa þec hettende hwilum dædon B. 1828 (Ms. *hettend*, but for metrical reasons altered to hettende; cp. p. 108); in hearmra hond, þær him hettende / earme aȝlæcan oft ȝeseodan Ph. 441.

- - forð onsendan E. 119;
hie - - / hettend heoro-
ʒrimme, heafodʒimme /aʒeton
ʒealʒmode A. 31; hord and
hamas. Hettend crunʒon
Æðelst. 10.

wyrcend : ealle ic feode facnes wyr-
cend Par. Ps. 100,3.

synwyrcend : swearte synwyrcend
sorʒum wlitað Cr. III 1105

syndon unrihtes ealle wyrcende
Par. Ps. 70,3.

ʒe ne woldon þa /synwyrcende soð
oncnawan E. 395; þæt me ne
beswice syndwyrcende, þa þe
unrihtes æʒhwær ðenceað
Par. Ps. 140,11.

2. Words with ending -(r)as or with ending -e.

Only in prose, in the word dælnimend.

With ending -ras: consortes. i. participes. dælnimendras Nap. gl. 1,1902.

With ending -e: hi mihton beon dælnimende ðæs heofonlican wuld-
res Greg. 232[8]; þa þe hi ne mihton ʒedon dælnimende
heora ʒedwolan 233[10]; he us ʒedyde dælnimende þæs
heofonlican rices Blickl. Hom. 11[2]; hie syn dælnimende
þinra ʒeofena 191[25]; ealle participia þæt synd ealle dæl-
nymende Ælfc gr. 61[11]; so also 112[1]; 136[5]; 152[8]; Scint.
5[5]; þæt we ne beon dælnimende þurh his mildheortnysse
Sermo Mar. 171.

3. Words with all the forms in napl.

Only in prose, in the word æfterfylʒend.

Without ending: his æfterfylʒend byscopas Bd IV 2042; halsiʒað usse
æfterfylʒend, ðæt heora næniʒ Cart. Sax. 1 199[12] (A. D.
889): alle ure æfterfylʒend II 313[18] (A. D. 922)

With ending -as: Alexandres æfterfylʒendas Or. 142[11]; cyninʒum - -
heora æfterfyliʒendas Bd II 537.

With ending -e: þa forman æfterfyliʒende Eadwines cyninʒes — L.
successores Aedwini Bd III 1 O (Ms. B: þa forman æfter-
fyliʒende Eadwine cyninʒe).

C. Adjectival Flexion : Ending -e.

a) **Poetry.**

sweordberende : þara þe æðelinʒas, / sweordberende settan heton Gen. 1060.

ealodrincende : ealodrincende oðer sædon B. 1945.

daroðlācende : þæt on ælfylce / dearcðlacende, on Danubie stærced-fyrhðe stæde wicedon E. 37; beornðreat moniʒ / farað - - - / eoredcystum ofestum ʒefysde dareðlacende Pa. 53.

faroð ~ : ʒewiciað weriʒferðe / faroðlacende, frecnes ne wenað Walf. 20.

lyft ~ : hwalas þec herʒað and hefonfuʒelas / lyftlacende! Dan. 388.

liðend : þæt þa liðende land ʒesawon B. 221.

brim ~ : ymb brontne ford brimliðende / lade ne letton B. 568.

heaðo ~ : swylce heaðoliðende habban scoldon B. 1798.

mere ~ : nu ʒe feorbuend / mereliðende minne ʒehyrað B. 255; þa ʒemunde ʒod mereliðende Gen. 1407.

wǣʒ ~ : hæleð lanʒode, / wæʒliðende swilce wif heora Gen. 1432; swa þæt wenað wæʒliðende Walf. 11.

bencsittende : manode ʒeneahhe / bencsittende, þæt hi ʒebærdon wel Jud. 27.

burh ~ : folca bearn, - - -, / burhsittende brucan wide Gen. 1089; bearn be bryde þinre, þone sculon burhsittende / ealle Isaac hatan 2326; þæt weras hatað, burhsittende Bersabea lond 2838; bræcon bebodo burhsittende Dan. B. 299 = Az. 19 (Ms. -u); þæs biddað burhsittende Cr. 1 337; þæt his ʒebidan ne maʒon burhsittende Metr. 27,17; þa wurdon bliðe burhsittende Jud. 159.

flet ~ : þa ic Freaware fletsittende / nemnan hyrde B. 2022.

lindwīʒende : sceotend þohton / - - -, lindwiʒende : hi ʒelæston swa Metr. 1,13; lindwiʒende lædan onʒunnon Jud. 42.

rond, ~ : hie þæt fæʒe þeʒon, / rofe rondwiʒʒende, þeah þæs se rica ne wende Jud. 20; hie þæt - - / ræfndon rondwiʒʒende, comon to þam rican þeodne Jud. 11.

blǣdāʒende : buʒon þa to bence blædaʒende, / fylle ʒefeʒon B. 1013.

folc ~ : þæt hi bælwudu / feorran feredon, folcaʒende, / ʒodum toʒenes B. 3113.[1]

woruldbūende : ne furðum wundne wer weoruldbuende ʒesawan Metr. 8,35.

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[1] According to BUGGE. PBB XII 109. *dsg.* (of Beowulf).   -

weʒferende : hine þa towurpon weʒferende Par. Ps. 88,34.

wid ~ : ne maʒon þær ʒewunian widferende A. 279; on þam wuniað widferende Az. 130.

æfremmende : ic leof weorud læran wille, / æfremmende, þæt ʒe cower hus J. 648 [1].

heaðo ~ : fluʒon instæpes / huna leode, - -, / heaðofremmende. E. 130.

riht ~ : þus reordiað ryhtfremmende Ph. 632.

bordhæbbende : þæt eorlweorod / morʒenlonʒne dæʒ modʒiomor sæt / bordhæbbende, beʒa on wenum B. 2895.[2]

lind ~ : no her cuðlicor cuman onʒunnon / lindwiʒende, ne ʒe leafnesword B. 245.

searo ~ : slæpe tobruʒdon / searohæbbende; sund ʒrunde onfenʒ A. 1528.

eald-hettende : eðelweardas, ealdhettende Jud. 321.

mædelhēʒende : beornas coman / wiʒʒendra þreat wicʒum ʒenʒan / on mearum modiʒe mædelheʒende / æscum dealle A. 1096; þær bisceopas and boceras / and ealdormenn æht besæton / meðelheʒende A. 609.[3]

ʒramhycʒende : and aʒbyliʒnes eac yrres þines / hi forʒripe ʒramhicʒende Par. Ps. 68,25 [4].

nīð ~ : swa him mid neʒlum þurhdrifon niðhycʒende / þa hwitan honda Cr. III 1110; Assiria oretmecʒas, / niðhycʒende, namne ne sparedon Jud. 233.

wiðer ~ wendan and woldon wiðerhycʒnde / þæt hie A. 1072.

rǣdþeahtende : ne mæʒ æfre ofer þæt Ebrea þeod / rædþeahtende rice healdan E. 449 [5]; sanʒ ahofon / rædþeahtende ymb þa roda þreo E. 868.

firenwyrcende : forðon ic fæstlice firenwyrcende / oft elnade Par. Ps. 72,2.

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[1] By CALLAWAY, p. 245, regarded as app. ptc., nsg. neut.

[2] Might possibly be regarded as app. ptc. This is not, however, CALLAWAY's view. Most likely to be npl. as compared with B. 3030 f.; cp. GR.-K., who regards it as *nsg.*

[3] In the last passage, it may be better to regard it as app. ptc. This is not done, however, by CALLAWAY.

[4] By CALLAWAY, p. 253, regarded as app. ptc.

[5] By CALLAWAY, p. 243, regarded as app. ptc. nsg. fem.

b) **Prose.**

crēopende : oŧer ealle ʒesceafta and ofer ealle þa creopende, þe stiraõ
         on eorõan — L. omnique reptili Genes. 1,26.

scipl iõende : þa scipliõende - - mearcedon Mart. 84[18];[1] betwux scip-
         liõende L. S. XXXIII 188.

weʒfērende : se rica and se þearfa sind weʒferende on õisre worulde
         Ælfc Hom. I 254,7; õa weʒferende hit fortrædan II 90[6];
         se þe æniʒ þissa do, ʒilde wite - -; buton weʒferende,
         þa moton for neode meteneade ferian Northu. 56.

speliend : ne synd na ma naman speliende (= pronouns) Ælfc gr. 94[2].

c) **Glosses.**

We find here a great number of ptcc. corresponding to L. ptcc.
which are used substantivally, but they do not, of course, prove
anything. Nor are ptcc. corresponding to L. sb. nom. ag. of any
great value as evidence, if they are of any at all; cp. what is said
p. 112 note. Besides, I have only noted a single instance (though
there may be more), and that word would certainly have another
form, if occurring in a text, as a parallel formation of it has, in-
deed. The word in question is:

ūpstiʒend : ascensores upstiʒende VPs 5,6; Eadw. Hy. 4,4. Cp. asti-
         ʒendas Reg. Hy. 4,4.

Cp. also habitatores *eardiʒende* Ar. Hy., but *eardiʒend* in prose
         (Greg.) and poetry (Par. Ps.), see above, p. 87.

Difference between poetry and prose.   The preceding survey of the records of pl.-forms of *end*-nouns
immediately shows one thing: the great difference between poetry
and prose in this respect. The preponderance of poetical records
for *e*-forms and of prose-records for the forms in *-as* is salient,
is, indeed, too marked to allow of being explained away as for-
tuitous.

See, for example, the ending *-(r)as*. We find only two such words
belonging to poetry, though the total number of poetical records of
pl.-forms of *end*-nouns is much larger than that of prose records,
as a glance at the material given will easily show. And, of the
two words occurring in poetry with this ending, viz. *byrʒend* and
ēhtend, the last is an ordinary prose-word — though it happens
not to be recorded in prose with this pl.-form — and the other

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[1] Cp. same p., line 10: sum westensetla sæʒde *sciplidendum monnum*, and
then 84[FI] ewæõ se ʒoles þeow to þæm *sciplidendum*.

is not an *end*-noun of the specifically poetic type either, as will
be seen later on, and both occur in the late Par. Ps. In the bulk
of O. E. epic poetry, there is not a single instance of this ending.

Perhaps the question then arises, however, whether this should
necessarily be ascribed to stylistic, rather than to chronological,
reasons. To me it seems to be a question *chiefly* of *style*. Note,
e. g., how consistently such a word as *wealdend* appears in the
pl.-form *wealdend(r)as*, in the prose-records, even as early as
Ælfred, and in the form *wealdend*, in poetry. Note, too, *wierʒendas*
in prose, but *wierʒend* in poetry (Par. Ps.), though *wierʒendas*, in
the passage on record, would have given a better verse from a
metrical point of view. And while *-as* is to be found in prose
during the whole O. E. period, it occurs no oftener in the late O. E.
poems — except for the two isolated cases in Par. Ps. — than
in the early ones.[1]

In the following pages, therefore, I distinguish between the
flexion in poetry and in prose, beginning with the latter as charac-
teristic of the ordinary O. E. language. The chronological table
below (pp. 98, 99) will then show the distribution of the different
plural endings in O. E. prose. *Flexion in prose.*

Now, it is true that the age of many of the O. E. prose texts *Ending -as.*
is not quite certain — and differences between the Mss. and the
original texts are, of course, possible — but, on the whole, the
table will give a fairly accurate notion of the chronological facts
to be borne in mind. It will then be seen that the pl.-ending *-as*
of the *a*-stems had already been adopted by the time of Ælfred,
probably even earlier (though there are no earlier records to prove
it), since it is so common in his works (or those of his literary circle)
as to show the greatest number of records of the different pl.-
endings. It was felt necessary to distinguish between the pl. and
sg. forms, and as the *end*-nouns in question possessed exactly

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[1] To avoid any misunderstanding, I had perhaps better explain my mean-
ing a little. The difference — appearing in O. E. chiefly as a stylistic one —
is, as a matter of fact, *originally* a chronological one. The form without ending
is the older of the two, the ending *-as* was felt to be a new-comer, a more
careless form; the former way of expressing the plural was thus felt to be
more dignified and suited to poetical purposes. — As regards the oldest epic
poetry, it may also be remembered that the ending *-as* is not recorded so
early, even in prose, though it probably existed. Cp. the table given below.

Chronological table of napl.-forms of end-nouns in prose.

	No ending.	Number of records	Number of words	Ending -e.[2]	Records	Words	Ending -(r)as	Records	Words
Co. gl.	hǣlsent	1	1	sciplīðende	1	1			
Ags. Chron.	būend	1	1	dælnimende	2	1			
Mart.							onsittendas H, rōwendas, ful-tumiendas, efenlǣcendras, reccendas	5	5
Greg.	onsittend 0, eardiend timbrend	3	3				wealdendas 3, lufiendas 2	5	2
Boeth.	ēhtend	1	1				æfterfylჳendas	1	1
Or.	rōwend, fultumiend 2	3	2				wealdendas	3	3
Past.	ymbsittend, æfterfylჳend, ჳe-hierend, wrēჳend	4	4	æfterfylჳende 0	1	1	æfterfylჳendas	1	1
Bd							āstīჳendas	2	2
Reg. Ps.	æfterfylჳend	1	1				lufiendras		
BCS. a. 922				dælnimende					
Blickl. Hom.				eorðbūiende 2, weჳfē-rende 2, sciplīðende			lufiendas, wierჳendras	5	3
Ælfc Hom., L.S.		2	1	dælnimende 4, speliende crēopende				5	2
Ælfc gr.								1	1
Genes.							wealdendras, reafჳendras, be-weriendras	2	2
KCD A.D. 1006								3	3

Wulfst.	helpend, āriend, frēfriend rētend	4	4	we3fērende	1	1			
Northu. Cl. gl.	berend 2, 3alder3alend, ǣwischreniend, onhyr3end	4	5					2	2
Hpt. gl.							haēlsendas, onhyr3endras	7?	7
Nap. gl.							lārhlestendras, belīfendras, -dras belīfendras, forhæbbendras, dǣlnimendras, lārhlysten- dras, -dras		
Germ.				dǣlnimende			wealdendas	6	6
Scint.					1	1	luf3endras, wealdendras, wrē3endras	1	1
Sermo Mar.				dǣlnimende	1	1		3	3
Total		20	24		7	20		{ 19	41
								+ 5?	

¹ Besides the 20 records given in the table, three other records quoted above (p. 96) are also to be noted, viz., VPs., Eadw. Ps. *ūpsti3ende*; Ar. Hy. *eardi3ende,*

the character of masc. sb., the usual pl.-ending for such nouns was introduced, the inducing morphems, perhaps, being chiefly the synonymous formations with the suff. -*ere*, pl. -*eras*.

By-form
-ras.
Influence from these words, also, is probably present in the transformation of the ending -*as* into -*ras*, which takes place very early: we find this form as early as *Ælfred*, though only once, viz., in *efenlǣcendras;* and in BCS, (A. D. 701) also once, viz., in *lufiʒendras*. As regards its origin, this *r* certainly is to be regarded, as by Sievers[1], as an *intrusive r*, taken over from the gpl, but the existence of the nom. ag. in -*ere* (-*eras*) may have facilitated the process. And then, when, after occasionally occurring in *Ælfe* (in *wierʒendras* beside *lufiʒendas*, though earlier *lufiʒendras*), and in *Cl. gl. III* (in *onhyrʒendras*[2], cp. *onhyrʒend* Cl. gl. II), the form -*ras* becomes the only one in the *later charters* (KCD A.D. 1006), in *Scint.*, *Hpt.* and *Nap. gl.*, where -*dras* is often used to indicate the pl. of an *end*-noun, the rest of which is left out, as being clear to the reader — when, consequently, the form -*ras appears as the only pl.-ending for the substantival end-formations at the close of the O.E. period*[3], I cannot account for that development in any other way than by assuming additional influence from those other agential formations. In the said late O. E. works, the intrusive *r* has also passed into the *dpl.* of *end*-nouns in a few cases: *herʒendrum* Scint. 205₆; *fylʒendrum* 100₆; *scēawiʒendrum* Nap. gl. 4,58; 7,250; *forsāwendrum* 1,5438.[4]

Flexion as
cons.-st.
The flexion that has thus been supplanted is the original flexion of *end*-sb., i. e., that of cons.-stems: it is one of the many cases where words belonging to other declensions are absorbed by the *a*-stems. This original form, without an ending, is, as is to be expected, preserved in records older than the other pl.-forms, viz., *Co.* and *Ags. Chron.* (and poetry), though the scarcity of recorded

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[1] Ags. Gr. § 286 anm. 2; PBB IX 253. Cp. also Nap. gl. 1,1254, note.

[2] In a passage, the source of which is Aldhelm, De laude virginitatis; see Sievers, Anglia XIII, p. 321.

[3] As for -*e* in dǣlnimende, see p. 101 f.

[4] Rhodes is not quite right when maintaining, in the preface of his edition of Scint. p. XV, that "an intrusive *r* is sometimes found in the nadpl of pr. ptc. and of nouns in -*end* formed from pr. ptc." I have never found an intrusive *r* in the pr. ptc. in Scint., and only once in other works, viz., Nap. gl. 1,1758: librantis, i. pensantis *weʒendres* (substantival?), otherwise *only* in *nouns*: as regards Scint., it is used, in the case of nouns, as the only form in the napl., and alternatively in the dpl.

pl.-forms in the earliest prose-texts makes it uncertain whether it was the only existing form. It is still very common in *Ælfred*, and occurs twice in one word, *æfterfylʒend in BCS*, A.D. *889* and *922*, but after that time it does not appear until *Wulfstan*, where it occurs four times in one single passage, and where the parallelism between the words (see instance given above, p. 87 *helpend*) may have contributed to its use. Then we find it in the glossators of the so - called *Cl. gl.* — Cl. II: berend[1], ʒalderʒalend[2], onhyrʒend[3]; Cl. III: berend[4], æwiscfireniend[5] —, but the chronology of the forms is here very uncertain; moreover, we cannot always be quite sure, when an uninflected *end*-noun is concerned, that the glossator has really intended to give also the number of the lemma. At any rate, it will be seen that this flexion is *never* used by *Ælfric*, and that it does not occur in the latest O. E. works.

The adjectival *ending* -e, finally, occurs sporadically during the whole of the O. E. period, but it is particularly characteristic of Ælfric's language.

If, however, *chronological* considerations regulate, to a certain degree at least, the distribution of forms *without ending* and forms in -*as* and -*ras* respectively, the same cannot be said as to the occurrence of the *adjectival* pl.-forms. By the side of the chronological factor, there is evidently another, rather of a *semological* kind, as a result of which certain words seem always to have had one and the same form, viz., the form with the ending -*e*. For while the words without ending are, to a great extent at least, the same as the words with ending -(*r*)*as*, there are only two words in the group with plural -*e* that occur inflected in other ways, and that in spite of the fact that most of the words of this group occur at different dates. Considering each of the seven words separately, we find *dælnimende* always occurs in this pl.-form from Ælfred down to Sermo Mar., except once — Nap. gl. (pl.-*dras*). The adjectival form is quite natural, since the word, along with its L. equivalent, *particeps*, may be regarded as originally an adj. and,

Ending -e.

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[1] Source: Cl. III, see 4), with which it is thus identical (Sievers, Anglia XIII 322).

[2] Source?

[3] Source: Cl. I, where, however, this particular word does not occur.

[4] Source: Aldh., De laud. virginum (Sievers, ibid., p. 321). Cp. 1.

[5] Source: New Testament (Sievers, ibid., p. 321).

of course, owes its flexion to its chiefly adjectival nature. The
word, however, should not, for that reason, have been omitted in
this survey, since it is to be observed, first, that its sg.-form is
nearly always substantival (*dælnimend*), and secondly, that, in Ælfc
gr., it is a clear sb, meaning participium, pl. participia, with the
constant forms sg. *dælnimend*, pl. *dælnimende*. The other gram-
matical term in -*end* occurring in Ælfc., viz., *speliend* 'pronoun', is
inflected in the same way, which must be regarded as being due to
influence from *dælnimend*. *sciplidende* and *wezferende* always occur
with this pl.-form, certainly because their substantival use arose out
of the adjectival use: *sciplidende menn*, *wezferende menn*, both com-
mon in O. E., cp. p. 96 note 1); cp. also *se wezferenda man* Ælfc
Hom I 164[7]; 248[15] and other places[1]. The context of the first record
of *sciplidende*, quoted in the said note (p. 96), places it, indeed, be-
yond any doubt that the substantival use of the word has there
arisen in such manner. And as an adjectival ptc. used substan-
tivally we must certainly also regard *creopende*, cp. such transla-
tions of L. reptilia as *þa creopendan wuhta; þa creopendan and
þa senicendan* (scil. *wuhta*) Past. 155[17]. *Eordbuende* will be best
accounted for as being, in most cases, a poetical word and retain-
ing, in Ælfric, its commonest poetical form; cp. also the great num-
ber of other *buend*-cpp. in O. E. poetry, see p. 139 f.

The nouns discussed are thus of a more adjectival nature than
the other *end*-nouns occurring in prose, or are influenced by words
of that kind (*speliend*), or are taken over in their poetical form
(*eordbuende*): the majority of them are simply adj. used substan-
tivally; for the one possible exception, *æfterfylzend*, see below.
It is noteworthy, however, that the sg. form of these words, as far
as it is recorded, is generally substantival, also as regards its form;
such is the case with *dælnimend*, *speliend*, *wezferend*. And it is
also noteworthy that nearly all the forms belong to Ælfric; indeed,
six of the seven words are recorded in Ælfrician texts.[2] For my

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[1] As regards *sciplidende*, I should imagine that the adjectival form also
had a support in the L. original, which probably has the pr. ptc. *navigantes*
(-ibus), common in L. in substantival use, and occurring. e. g., Bd V 947: þa þe
scyplidendum nydþearflicu ʒesewen wæron. L. quæ *navigantibus* esse necessaria
videbantur. For the instances on record, however, I have not had an oppor-
tunity of verifying my supposition.

[1] *Dælnimende* in non-Ælfrician texts, provides, of course, no evidence,
since there is no means of knowing whether it is meant as an adj. or a sb.

part, I am of opinion that the formation of the pl. of the *end*-nouns by means of -*e* is *not*, strictly speaking, natural O. E. *prose*; it is a grammatical resource of poetry, exceptionally turned to use also in prose. Otherwise, we should certainly meet with it oftener, and we should most likely find some cases of it in Ælfred, the chief O. E. prose-writer. The only instance from his works, viz., *æfterfylʒende*, occurs in this form only once[1], and then only in one Ms., whereas another has the same form, it is true, but with verbal construction (a following accusative), so that this form cannot be quite relied upon as evidence. Again, no O. E. writer uses adjectival ptcc. substantivally to such an extent as Ælfred, but then they always occur with weak adjectival flexion. Note, e. g., his *þa erēopendan*, quoted above, *se weʒfērenda* — L. conviator Greg. 128[15], *þa æfterfylʒendan* Greg. 98[1]C, and others[2]. In Ælfric, on the other hand, -*e* is the usual pl.-ending of substantival *end*-nouns. Only *lufiend* is also used by him in its traditional pl.-form with -*as*, and *wierʒend* has obtained the form *wyrʒendras* immediately following *drineeras*, *ʒytseras*, and other nouns in -*ras*, but those are Ælfric's only cases showing a different plural-ending from -*e*. From a desire to distinguish between the sg. and pl., Ælfric, when there was no special reason why he should use another ending, appropriated the form well-known to him from poetry, his own language being, as is well known, half prose, half poetry.

Flexion in poetry.

We will now turn our attention to the poetical records. It has already been stated that one of the endings, viz., -*as*, does not occur in poetry, except in two words in the Par. Ps., so it can here be left altogether out of consideration. The numerous poetical *end*-nouns form their plurals, as was seen above (p. 86 ff.) in the following way:

Statistics.

A. *as cons.-st.* (Group A).
B. *as cons.-st. or with ending* -*e* (Group B).
C. *with the adjectival ending* -*e* (Group C).

Group A. contains 22 words (representing 18 formations[3]) occurring altogether 52 times. Of these words, 7 (= 3 formations) represent cp.-groups, 4 are isolated cpp., and 11 are simple words not belonging to cp.-groups.

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[1] See pp. 86 ff., 89.

[2] Cp. below, semology of *end*-nouns.

[3] *æsc-*, *ʒæst- ʒār-*, and *helm-berend* are reckoned as *four words*, but *one formation*.

Group B. shows 13 words (= 7 formations), with 31 (A.) and 35 (C.) records respectively, all representing cp.-groups.[1]

Group C. finally, has the great number of 33 words (representing 16 formations), with 49 records, the substantival character of all of which, however, is not quite certain. All are cpp., with the exception of *līðend*, which belongs to a cp.-group, 2 of them, both doubtful, are isolated cpp.

Chronological table of napl.-forms of e n d-nouns in O. E. poetry.[2]

	No ending.	Words	Records	Ending -e.	Words	Records
B.	helmberend 2, rīdend 1, scēo-tend 2, ymbsittend 1, wīʒend 4, ʒār ~ 1, feormiend 1, sǣlī-ðend 3, feorrbūend 1, fold-būend 1, londbuend 1.	11	18	sǣliðende 1, selerǣdende 1, fold-būende 1, hettende 1, ealo-drincende 1, līðende 1, brim ~ 1, heaðo ~ 1, mere ~ 1, flet ~ 1, blǣdāʒende 1, folc ~ 1, bordhæbbende 1, lind ~ 1.	14	14
F.	wīʒend 2.	1	2		—	—
Gen.	wīʒend 1, āʒend 1, weriend 1, eorðbūend 1, hettend 1.	5	5	eorðbūende 3, sweordberende 1, merelīðende 1, wǣʒlīðende 1, burhsittende 3.	5	9
Dan. A.	reordberend 1.	1	1		—	—
Ex.	wīʒend 2, weriend 1, hettend 1	3	4	eorðbūende 1.	1	1
Rä.	ʒæstberend.	1	1		—	—
Wand.	wealdend 1.	1	1		—	—
Cross.	reordberend 1.	1	1		—	—
Cræ.	ʒæstberend 1.	1	1		—	—
Guþl. B.	foldbūend 1.	1	1		—	—
Dan. B.		—	—	lyftlācende 1, burhsittende 1.	2	2
Az.		—	—	burhsittende 1, wīdfērende 1.	2	2

[1] *hettend* and *wyrcend* are, perhaps, rather simplicia, since the cpp. with them are not so many that they can be said to form a group.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to point out that the order of the works, as regards chronology, is a most uncertain matter, and the above arrangement may seem rather arbitrary. For questions concerning chronology, see the usual histories of O. E. literature, especially BRANDL; cp. also SARRAZIN, Von Kädmon bis Kynewulf (1913).

	No ending.	Words	Records	Ending -e.	Words	Records
Cr. I	reordberend 1, eorðbūend 1, sundbūend 1.	3	3	reordberende 1, burhsittende 1.	2	2
Cr. II	scēotend 1, eorðbūend 1.	2	2		—	—
J.	wiðerfeohtend 1, fērend 1.	2	2	æfremmende 1.	1	1
A.	æscberend 3, wīʒend 3, reordberend 1, selerædend 1, hettend 1.	5	9	wiðerhycʒende 1, wīdfērende 1, searohæbbende 1, mæðelhēʒende 2.	4	5
E.	wīʒend 1, hettend 1.	2	2	foldbūende 1, synwyrcende 1, daroðlācende 1, heaðofremmende 1, rædðeahtende 2.	5	6
Cr. III	ʒæstberend 1, eorðbūend 1, synwyrcend 1.	3	3	reordberende 1, foldbūende 2, niðhycʒende 1.	3	4
Hö.	byrnwīʒend 1.	1	1	foldbūende 2.	1	2
Sat.	wealdend 1.	1	1	londbūende 1.	1	1
Ph.	—	—	—	hettende 1, rihtfremmende 1.	2	2
Walf.	fērend 1.	1	1	sælīðende 1, faroðlācende 1, wæʒlīðende 1.	3	3
Pa.	—	—	—	daroðlācende 1.	1	1
Metr.	scēotend 1.	1	1	eorðbūende 2, foldbūende 1, sundbūende 3, burhsittende 1, lindwīʒende 1, woruldbūende 1.	6	9
Geb.	—	—	—	eorðbūende 1.	1	1
Ruine	bētend 1.	1	1	—	—	—
By.	ʒārberend 1, wīʒend 1.	2	2	—	—	—
Ags. Chron.	īeʒbūend 1.	1	1	—	—	—
Æðelst.	hettend 1.	1	1	—	—	—
Jud.	scēotend 1, wīʒend 3.	2	4	byrnwiʒʒende 1, nīðhycʒende 1, londbūende 1, bencsittende 1, burhsittende 1, lindwīʒende 1, rondwīʒende 2, ealdhettende 1	8	9
Par. Ps.	hearmcweðend 1, frumsprecend 1, eardiʒend 1, oferhylmend 1, ēhtend 3, wierʒend 1, eorðbūend 4, foldbūend 1, wyrcend 1.	9	14	eorðbūende 3, wyrcende 1, syn~ 1, weʒfērende 1, ʒramhycʒende 1, firenwyrcende 1	6	8
Sal.	—	—	—	feorbūende 1	1	1
Men.	—	—	—	īeʒbūende 1	1	1
Total		35	83		46	84

Not chrono-
logical dif-
ferences.

An investigation into the pl.-forms of our words, when under-
taken from the point of view of chronology and restricted to poet-
ical records, can scarcely aim at anything more than comparing
the conditions in early (pre-Ælfredian) and late O. E.; other-
wise, only differences in different texts (sometimes authors) can
be indicated (cp. note, p. 104). In this case, however, such an
investigation gives entirely negative results : the distribution of
forms *without ending* and *e*-forms has nothing to do with chrono-
logy. So much is evidently clear from the chronological table;
the differences met with in different works easily reveal themselves
as being of another nature. Both means are used to almost the
same extent, even in the earliest texts, and are still used in the
late ones (Jud., Par. Ps.).[1]

Closer exa-
mination of
group B.

To begin with the words in which double pl.-forms occur, i. e.,
group B, containing the simple words *hettend* and *wyrcend* and
certain cpp. with *-berend, -līðend, -rǣdend, -wīȝend, -būend*, and
-wyrcend, we shall easily find that the choice of the inflected or
the uninflected form is governed by the metre. In a few of
the cases, it is true, the other form would have given a verse
metrically possible, too, but then only of a rarer type — gene-
rally an exceptional form of a certain type — whereas the pre-
served form gives a natural and common verse.[2] Of course, that
does not imply that the occurrence of the adjectival pl.-form of
the poetical *end*-nouns, side by side with the substantival one, is
due, originally, to the metre, but only that the actually existing
forms are used according to the requirements of the metre, and
not, as far at least as I have been able to discern, to any semolo-
gical or chronological difference. Nor does it imply that one of the
forms of each particular word is not commoner than the other —
is not its usual, and perhaps more natural, form. For, in nearly all
the words, we find, indeed, one form preferred, as it were, to the
other. A short summary of the different cpp.-groups belonging
to group B and their parallel formations in groups A and C will
show that the majority of *cpp.* with *līðend, -būend, -wyrcend*, and
(in *late* O. E.) *-wīȝend* form their pl. according to the type of *group*

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[1] As for a certain chronological difference. see pp. 107 (note 1), 108.

[2] Unfortunately, for want of space, I cannot enter into a discussion of
the recorded cases; I must refer to the material given above, where my state-
ment can easily be verified.

C, but the cpp. with -*berend* and (in *early* O. E.) -*wīʒend* according to *A.*, whereas cpp. with -*rǣdend* oscillate between the two.[1]

The said cpp. are the commonest cpp.-groups of poetical *end*-nouns. As for the others, the cpp. with -*lācende*, -*sittende*, -*āʒende*, -*[fērende]*, -*fremmende*, -*hæbbende*, and -*hyeʒende*, they all belong *exclusively to group* C, with the exception of *ymbsittend*, which has the uninflected form in its one existing record of npl. Corresponding simple words are not recorded, except in the case of *āʒend* [and *fērend*], which word shows uninflected forms.

Considering these facts,[2] it appears:

Rules to be reduced.

1) that all those common poetical cpp.-groups have, or at least can have, the inflected pl.-form;
2) that the simple *end*-nouns belong almost unexceptionally to group A;
3) that isolated cpp. are generally inflected like simple *end*-nouns.

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[1] *berend-cpp.:*
    A: *reord* ~ 4, *æsc* ~ 3, *ʒǣst* ~ 3, *ʒār* ~ 1, *helm* ~ 2.
    C: *reord* ~ 2, *sweord* ~ 1.

līðend-cpp.:
    A: *sǣ* ~ 3
    C: *brim* ~ 1, *heaðo* ~ 1, *mere* ~ 2, *sǣ* ~ 2, *wǣʒ* ~ 2, and prose *scip* ~ 2. Cp. simplex *þa līðende* 1 (C).

wīʒend-cpp.:
    A: *byrn* ~ 1, *ʒār* ~ 1. Cp. simplex *wīʒend* 17 (A).
    C: *byrn* ~ 1, *lind* ~ 2, *rond* ~ 2.

Here it must be noted, however, that *ʒārwīʒend* is recorded *B.* and *byrn* ~ *Hö.*, whereas, of the 5 *e*-cases, 4 are recorded *Jud.* and 1 (*lind*~) *Metr.* In this particular case, the *e*-forms are thus chronologically later than the uninflected forms.

būend-cpp.:
    A: *eorð* ~ 7, *feor* ~ 1, *fold* ~ 3, *īeʒ* ~ 1, *lond* ~ 1, *sund* ~ 1 : total 14; cp. simplex *būend* 1 (prose).
    C: *eorð* ~ 10 (+ 2 prose), *feor* ~ 1, *fold* ~ 7, *īeʒ* ~ 1, *lond* ~ 2, *sund* ~ 3, *woruld* ~ 1 : total 25 (27).

wyrcend-cpp.:
    A: *syn* ~ 1   Cp. simplex *wyrcend* 1.
    B: *firen* ~ 1, *syn* ~ 2. Cp. simplex *wyrcende* 1.

hettend-cp.
    C: *eald* ~ 1. Cp. simplex *hettend* 5 (A) and 2 (C) respectively.

rǣdend-cp.:
    A: *sele* ~ 1.
    B: *sele* ~ 1. Simplex *rǣdend* not recorded in pl.

[2] Cp. statistics above, p. 103 f.

The adjectival pl.-ending, therefore, seems to have acquired settlement, so to speak, only or chiefly in the *cpp.-groups*. The three simplicia occurring with *-e*, viz., *līðend, hettend,* and *wyrcend* can easily be explained as influenced by their own cpp. The discrepancy existing between the substantival flexion of the simplex and the adjectival flexion of its cpp. can, of course, influence the words in question in either direction. Now, both *līðend* and *wyr- cend* are very rare as simple words, but their cpp., esp. those of *līðend,* are numerous and of frequent occurrence, so that such a development is quite natural in those cases. As for *hettend,* it is true only one cp. exists, viz., *eald ~,* and that cp. is only recorded once, in the late Jud. But then the usual form of *hettend* is also with uninflected pl. (5 against 2 with *-e*). Of particular interest is, too, one of the two records of pl. *hettende,* viz., the early one, B. 1828, where the Ms. has, actually, *hetend,* which has been al- tered by editors into *hettende,* for metrical reasons;[1] the second record, Ph. 441, also shows the form *hettende* as metrically ne- cessary.

Very illustrative of this view is the *wīʒend*-group (see p. 107 note 1). The clearly substantival *cpp.* of *wīʒend* at first retain the flexion of the simple word, but later on the principle of flexion prevailing in the other poetical cpp. *end*-nouns attracts them, and in late O. E. they have only napl. with *-e*. The *simplex wīʒend,* on the other hand, does not show the *e*-form in a single one of its 17 records for the napl., whether of late or early date.

Origin of -e
in the sub-
stantival
end-nouns.
Yet, though the poetical *cpp. end*-nouns, without regard to sense, could assume the adjectival pl.-form, when desirable for metrical reasons, I do not think that this character of theirs was, in itself, the cause of the origin of this flexion. The cause of its origin certainly is a semological one, the same as we found for the ending in prose,[2] though it is less obvious in the poetical forma- tions, viz., the chiefly adjectival nature of the words that first adopted it, even when used substantivally. And even among the material given above (especially p. 94 f.) there are many words which can

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[1] The form *hettende* can there also be explained as verbal. I am in- clined to think that such was the intention of the author; the scribe then misinterpreted the form as a sb. and consequently substituted the natural sub- stantival form of a simple *end*-noun for it, without observing that he spoilt the metre.

[2] Cp. above, p. 101 f.

claim the honour of being the inducing morphems — words the ad-
jectival character of which is so conspicuous as sometimes to make
it doubtful whether we are at all justified in speaking of nom. ag.,
and not simply of adjs. occasionally used substantivally, i. e., *con-
crete nomina virtutis*, rather then *nomina agentis*. Such is espe-
cially the case with the cpp. with *-āʒende*, *-fremmende*, *-hæbbende*,
and above all *-hycʒende*. Thus, for instance, *ǣ-fremmende* means
much the same as *ǣ-fæst* (Gu. 497), *blǣdāʒende* as *blǣd-fæst* (as adj.
B. 1299), the cpp. with *-hycʒende* little more than the cpp. with *-hyʒ-
diʒ*. As a rule, these cpp. of *-hycʒende* are also used as adj. or verbs
(as app. ptc.), only exceptionally do they occur in substantival use,
and then just as nom. virtutis. And so also the *wyrcende*-group:
firen-, *scyld-*, and *syn-wyrcende*, none of which means any more
than the adj. *synfull* or *scyldiʒ* in substantival use.[1] Now, what
is more natural than that these words should be inflected like adj.,
even when used substantivally? It will also be seen that, when
occurring substantivally in sg., they have the adjectival form there,
too. But then it must have been very easy for these nomina vir-
tutis which are verging on nom. ag. to influence the other *end*-nouns
discussed above, even those that were not at all of adjectival na-
ture : they were on a par with them *morphologically* — being
cpp. — and *semologically* (*stylistically*) — being used in poetry
as *kennings*[2] and (or) *variations*[3] —. For that is the function of
all of these words : they are not real *names* of persons (things),
and recognized as such, but only some sort of designations of a
more occasional character, and restricted to a certain style (poetry,
chiefly epic poetry). Now, there were simple words, too, that had
much of the adjective in them and might have influenced other
words, but they were not so numerous, nor of so uniform a
character, as, for instance, all the words forming one cpp.-group,
such as *hycʒende*-cpp.; nor did the simple *end*-nouns share with
the cpp. their stylistic character to so great an extent. In fact, we
find simple adjectival ptcc., such as *lifʒende*, *þearfiende*, and (in

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[1] It is worth noting that the L. sb. *peccator* is almost always translated
in O. E. by the adj. *synfull*, and that there is no proper nom. ag. in O. E. to
the verbs with the meaning of 'to sin'. The above kennings, consequently, are,
indeed, used for the adj. *synfull* (*scyldiʒ*) or some such word.

[2] Cp. Bode "Die Kenningar in der angelsächs. Dichtung", Leipzig 1886.

[3] Cp. Paetzel, "Die Variationen in der altgerm. Allit.-poesie", Berlin,
1905.

prose) *hynẓriende*, etc., used substantivally, but that is only in accordance with the ways in which adj. are substantivized in general, and it has not influenced other simplicia that are real sb.

It will now be clear why I could give as my opinion (cp. above, p. 103) that the *e*-plural in the *end*-nouns was a possession of poetry. We have found the ending both in prose and poetry, it is true, but in prose it appeared almost exclusively in such words as were originally adj., or were perhaps still adj. used occasionally as sb., whereas in poetry the ending has passed over to a great many clear sb., such as *byrnwīẓend, sǣliðend, selerǣdend, iẓbūend*, etc. We have found that the clearly substantival words that have adopted this ending belong to a type that belongs both formally and stylistically to poetry. There are poetical cpp. that have not shared the development of the said cpp.-groups. Such is the case with the isolated cpp. given above under A, viz., *hearmcweðend, frumsprecend, oferhelmend, wiðerfeohtend, ymbsittend*. These words are not cpp. of exactly the same stylistic type as the others, nor are all of them so clearly felt as cpp. There are verbs, *oferhelmian, wiðfeohtan, ymbsittan,* from which the sb. are directly formed. All clear cpp. sb. with a preposition for a first member seem to be treated in this way, i. e., as simple words.

There still remains one question in this connection, and that is, Why the adjectival ending has gained so much firmer ground in napl. than in the corresponding cases of the sg. That question, however, will be treated of below (see p. 120 ff.).

II. Nominative and Accusative Singular with -e.[1]

A. Words with substantival flexion, but showing occasional forms with -e.

1. Poetry.

lēohtberende: wæs þæt encʒelcynn ær ʒenemned, Lucifer haten, leohtberende, on ʒeardaʒum in ʒodes rice Sat. 367.

    Cp. *leohtberend,* also of Lucifer, Ælfc Hom. I 10₁₄; Ælfc gr. 27¹⁴; Ælfc de test. 2³⁵; Wulfst. 306²⁴: an þæra enʒla - - - þæt se wæs Leohtberend nemned.

fērende: fæʒer ferende fundað æfre Rä. 84,₅.

    Not recorded in the form *fērend,* but cp. pl. *ferend* J. 60; Wulf. 25 (cp. weʒ-, widfērende).

    App. ptc. (to a preceding *wiht*) accord. to Callaway 247; cp. p. 115.

2. Prose.

dælnimende: þisse þinre þeowenne, and þæt heo sy dælnimende þæs heofonlican rices L. S. XXXIII 55;[2] participium ys dælnimende Ælfc gr. 9¹⁸ J, U (other Mss. dælnimend).

    Cp. *dælnimend* Ælfc Hom I 36₄, 606⁵, II 336¹¹, 422¹¹; L. S. XXXVI 354 (of fem. word); Ælfc gr 9¹⁸, 242¹¹, ¹⁵; Ags. Min. (Angl. XI) IX 86; in poetry Par. Ps. 118,₆₃.

fultumiende: þe his ʒefera wæs and fultumiende Bd III 3332 T (Mss. B, O fultumiend).

    Cp. *fultumiend* 31 ×, *ʒefultumiend* 7 ×, *tofultumiend* 1 ×,[3] note also pl. *fultumiend* 2 ×. *fultumiendas* 1 × never **fultumiende.*[4]

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[1] The regular forms are here so dominant that they need not be particularly mentioned.

[2] The word will have to be regarded as an adj. in this (and similar) cases.

[3] prose and glosses.

[4] Cp. above, p. 90.

æfterfylʒende: se wæs Trumheres æfterfylʒende Bd III 3325 O, Ca
          (Mss. T, B æfterfylʒend).

         Cp. *æfterfylʒend* 13 × ;[1] note also dsg. *æfterfylʒende*
         Bd 2 ×, napl. *æfterfylʒend* 3 ×, *æfterfylʒendas* 2 ×,
         æfterfylʒende 1 × (Bd III 1 O).[2]

wyrcende: þurh þa unrotnysse þe is deaðes wyrcende Ags. Min.
          (Angl. XI) IX 43 Ms. Tib.

         Cp. *wyrcend* Ælfc Hom 1 102²; II 596₈ Ags. Min.
         (Angl. XI) IX 43, Du. Ri. 29 (30); note also pl. *wyrcend*
         1, *wyrcende* 1 (poetry).[3]

3. Glosses.[4]

[*dælnimende* gl. particeps several times alternating with dælni-
         mend; when inflected like an adj., it will best be re-
         garded as an adj.].

rīdende: eques ridda oððe ridende Ælfc gr. 51¹⁵.

         Cp. *ridend* B 2457 (probably pl.),[5] but note dsg. *ri-
         dendum*, recorded gl.[6]

āstīʒende: ascensorem astiʒende Eadw. Hy 4,1.

         Cp. *astiʒend* ib. and *onstiʒend* VHy. 5,2.

borʒiende: fenerator borʒiende Splm Ps 108,11, according to BT.

         Cp. *borʒiend* Reg. Ar. Ps. ib.

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[1] All prose-instances.

[2] Cp. above, p. 93, cp. p. 103.

[3] Cp. above, p. 93.

[4] I have thought it appropriate to give the gloss instances found as well,
though I do not think they prove anything at all. The quotation from Ælfc.
gr. 51¹⁵, given below, it is true. seems to put *ridende* on a par with *ridda*,
both being equivalent to L. eques; cp. also Ælfric's statement in his gr. 61⁸:
amans lufiʒende is æʒðer ʒe nama ʒe participium. But these two passages
do not imply or prove anything more than that the pr. ptc. has the double
function of a verbal and a nominal (substantival) word, without stating
anything whatever about the possible difference in form to be found in the
two functions; it only implies that the pr. ptc. can be used substantivally.
Cp. what Ælfric himself says in another passage. gr. 255⁹: *eft amans deum
lufiʒende ʒod is pacticipium and amans dei is nama. þat is amator dei,
ʒodes lufiʒend and amans virtatis michte lufiʒend* Now, I think gloss in-
stances, in general, must be regarded as the said *ridende.* The glossator, in
many cases. as is well known, only gives the O. E. word corresponding to the
L. lemma. without intending exactly to give that very form it ought to, and
would, have had, if occurring in a running text.

[5] Cp. above, p. 86.

[6] Cp. below. p. 118.

eardiʒend: habitatorem eardiʒende Ar. Hy. 2,11.

      Cp. *eardiʒend* Reg. Hy. ib.; VHy. 3,4; Greg. 236[8]; note also pl. *eardiʒend* 2 ×,[1] but *eardiʒende* Ar. Hy. 4,15.

weʒfērend: viator weʒferende Scint. 225[10].

      Cp. *weʒferend* ib. 187[6]; Boeth. 33[9] ,[14]; Greg 128[9]; 314[12]; Kent. gl. 137, but pl. *weʒferende*[2] and dsg. *weʒferendum.*[3]

fultumiend: adjutor fultumiende Eadw. Ps. 9,35. Cp. prec. p.

miltsiend: miserator miltsiʒende Eadw. Ps. 102,8; 110,4; 114,4.

      Cp. *miltsiʒend* Eadw. Ps. 85,15; 144,8; and other Ps. gl. ib.; Du. Ri. 69[3]; 170(40); Ælfc Hom II 420[17]; ʒemildsiend Apoll. Tyr. 28[15].

tǣcnend: index tæcnendi Ep. Erf. 544; Co. I 216.

      Cp. *tæcnend* Cl. gl. 426[38].

B. Words only recorded with e-forms.

1. Poetry.

faroðlācende: hafast þe on fyrhðe, faroðlacende, / eorles andsware A. 507.[4]

lyftlācende: þæt þu me ʒecyðe, cyninʒa wuldor / - - hwæt þes þeʒn sy, / lyftlacende, þe mec læreð from þe J. 281.

      App. ptc. according to CALLAWAY p. 245.

folcāʒende: ða for ðam folce frecne mode / beotwordum spræc, bealʒ hine swiðe / folcaʒende and þa fæmnan het J. 186.

mānfremmende: ðe ðu hæstlice, / manfremmende to me beotast J. 137.[4]

      App. ptc. or subst., according to CALLAWAY, p. 245.

ʒlēawhycʒende: þe þes dema hafað / þa wyrrestan witu ʒeʒearwad, / - - - ʒif þu onsecʒan nelt, / ʒleawhycʒende and his ʒodum cweman J. 252.

      App. ptc., according to CALLAWAY, p. 245.

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[1] See p. 87.

[2] See pp. 95, 96.

[3] See p. 117.

[4] KÖHLER, Infinitiv u. Particip im Beowulf (p. 66), holds that "substantiviert ist auch das Particip, wenn es mit dem ungeschlechtlichen Pronomen verbunden ist". I do not think, however, that this can be laid down as a general rule. The instance given by KÖHLER: Beo þu suna minum dædum ʒedefe. *dream healdende* B. 1228, we may rather regard, with CALLAWAY, as containing an app. ptc.: 'der du im Jubel lebst (Jubel hältst)' than as a subst.: 'Jubel halter'. And certainly *ʒitsiende* is not a subst., but an app. ptc. with modal function in the sentence: þa þu *ʒitsiende* on beam ʒripe Gen. 890.

rǽdhyczende: þu þe anne ʒenim / to ʒesprecan symle spella and
lara / rædhyczende Fæ. 26.

wiðerhyczende: onʒan þa meldiʒan morðres brytta, / hellehinca, þone
halʒan wer, / wiðerhyczende, and þæt word ʒecwæð A.
1172; þu - - on fyrbæðe - - syððan wunodest - - and þær
awa scealt / wiðerhyczende werʒðu dreoʒan E. 951.

In last instance app. ptc. according to CALLAWAY, p.
243.

scyldwyrcende: sceal nu lanʒe ofer þis / scyldwyrcende scame þro-
wian J. 445.

App. ptc. according to CALLAWAY, p. 245.

synwyrcende: þær se mihtiʒa cyninʒ in neolnesse / nyðer bescufað
synwyrcende in susla ʒrund, domes leasne E. 943.

2. Prose.

drincende: drincende wines Ru.[1] 11,19. — Cp. following word.

win~: her ys ettul man and windrincende — L. homo vorax et
potator vini Ws. ev. ib.

andettende: ic eom þe ealra andettende Ags. Min. (Angl. XI) ll 30.

3. Glosses.

wæxberende: cerarius væx biorende Du. Ri. 195[8].

yfelberende: nugigerulus yfelberende Nap. gl. 53,16.

ʒelācende: emula ʒelæca ┼ ʒelæcende Germ. 391 b27.

landhæbbende: tribunus landhæbbende ┼ his cynnes latwa Du. Ri.
193(9).

onhiʒiende: grassatrix onhichiende ┼ forswelʒend devoratrix Hpt. gl.
458 a₂; Nap. gl. 1,2202.

lēaniende: ultricem leaniende vindicatricem Hpt. gl. 496 a[5].

ʒehwǽrende: assentatrix. i. adulatrix ʒehwæriende Hpt. gl. 527 b[4]
assentatrix ʒehwæriende Nap. gl. 1,5376. [1]

weorðiʒende: fenerator weorðiʒende Eadw. Ps. 108,11.

Discussion of material.   After the detailed discussion of the formation of the napl.,
much need not be said here. We can state at once that the sg.
e-forms, if gloss-examples are disregarded, are very sporadic,
and that they do not hold the same position as the corresponding
pl. ones.

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[1] As for the form *ʒehwær-* = *ʒefwær-*, see Nap. gl. 1,66 note.

Let us take the poetical words that are only recorded with *e-* _e-forms in_
forms. 5 of the 9 recorded cases are interpreted as app. ptcc. by _poetry._
CALLAWAY, and that I have entered them here does not mean that
I oppose CALLAWAY's interpretation, only that I regard another
conception of them as possible. As clear sb., however, are,
at any rate, to be considered *folcāȝende, rǣdhyeȝende, wiðerhye-*
ȝende (1st instance), and *symvyreende.* The e-form in these words,
as well as in the others, if they are really sb., need not surprise
us; we found the same form as the only one used also in the
pl. of these words. We have to do with, semologically, concrete
nom. virtutis, which are in everything treated like adjs., even if
used substantivally; they thus serve further to corroborate our
above theory that these words were the inducing morphems of
the other compounded *ende*-sb. inflected like adj. In the sing.,
however, such influence has not operated; the two poetical re-
cords *leohtberende* and *fērende* stand quite isolated. And of these
two words, *fērende* may be accounted for by a reference to the
exclusively adjectival pl.-forms of the cpp. of this word,[1] which
adjectival form may occasionally have been extended also to the
sg.; moreover it is not impossible that the word is to be regarded,
as by CALLAWAY, as an app. ptc., though the preceding word *fæȝer*
is rather curious in that case. A similar explanation also suggests
itself for the other word, in the case of which, moreover, the form of
the word makes it more liable to an external influence of this
kind; at any rate, the form seems to show that the adjectival
form of the ptc. *could* be used independently, i. e., as a sb., in
the sg., too. Whether there was any difference felt in O. E, as
regards the sense, between *leohtberende* occasionally used substan-
tivally in that form, and *leohtberend*, I do not pretend to decide.

That such adjectival flexion of ptcc., used substantivally, could _e-forms in_
really occur also in the sg., though more exceptionally, is also _prose._
shown by the prose-records. As for the *e*-forms of the words
under II 2, *fultumiend, æfterfylȝend, wyreend*, it is true, these are
not quite trustworthy, since in these three cases there exist tradi-
tional and often recorded substantival forms, whereas each of the
adjectival forms occurs only once, and always as a variant in pas-
sages where other Mss. have (retained) the correct substantival
form. I do not hesitate in regarding them as inadvertencies on

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[1] See, above, pp. 95, 96.

the part of the scribes, probably due to a blending of different constructions, viz.: þe *his fultumiend* wæs — þe *him fultumiende* wæs: se wæs *Trumheres æfterfylʒend;* se wæs *Trumhere æfter-fylʒende:* þe is *deaðes wyrcend* — þe is *deað wyrcende.*[1]

But with the other prose-records showing words only occurring in adjectival form the case is different. *Drincende* and *windrin-cende* were evidently used as sb., but only in that form. Cp. poetry: þær bið *drincendra* dream Wy. 79: *ealodrincende* oðer sædon B. 1945. The sense of the word is strongly adjectival, as is shown from its co-ordination with an adj., but it must be re-garded as a sb. on account of the following *wines.*[2] And likewise *andettende* is used as a sb. In that particular case, one might be inclined to assume a contamination of the same type as the one discussed above, the phrase being a blending between *ic eom eall andettende* and *ic eom ealra andetta,* but here the case is somewhat different. There is no real *end*-sb. of *andettan* in exis-tence. The phrase *andettende beon,* originally construed with the acc., has, however, become quite equivalent to *andetta beon,* con-strued with the gen., or to *andettan,* tr. vb., an equivalence which has been extended to the construction of the phrases. We find, indeed, one case of the phrase *andetta beon* construed the other way, i. e., with the acc.: ic *eom andetta* ælmihtiʒan ʒode and eac minum scrifte *ealle þa synna* þe etc. Beichtgebet Arch. 121,16.[3]

e-forms in glosses. The lack of value as evidence of the gloss-records was indi-cated above. If there exists a clearly substantival form recorded of a certain word, we can safely say that the occasional occur-rence of an *e*-form in a gloss is to be explained as due to the

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[1] It is more surprising that there are not more such blendings in the whole of O. E literature.

[2] There was no proper nom. ag. to *drincan* in O. E. *drincere* did not mean 'one who drinks', but 'one who loves drunkenness', or, to quote Ælfc L. S. XVII 41: *drinceras þæt synd þa þe druncennysse lufiað,* and this secondary sense made it less appropriate when followed by *wines.* The fact that Lind. uses the word *drincere* in the passage quoted above (Mt. 11,19), is, of course, not due to any wider sense of the word in the Northu. dialect, but only to the gloss-character of the record: *potator vini,* in this context, might have been rendered by *drincere* alone, or literally *drincende wines.*

[3] The equivalence may start from passages where the phrases are follow-ed by a that-clause: *ic eom andetta* or *andettende þæt* etc. or *ic andette þæt* etc., and then have been occasionally extended further.

very gloss-character of the record. For the other words that are not recorded as clear sb., only in glosses as glossing sb. but with retained adjectival form, it is not to be decided whether they could really have been used as sb. in a running translation.

To sum up, we find a few ptcc. used substantivally in their adjectival forms, but they do not seem able to assume substantival form. The recorded cases were: *Summary.*

Prose: andettende, drincende (probably also londhæbbende, recorded only in gl., but made probable by parallel formations).

Poetry: cpp. with -lācende (fareð-, lyft-), āzende (folc-; cp. simplex), -fremmende (mān-), -hyczende (zlēaw-, rǣd-, wiðer-) and -wyrcende (scyld-, syn-; cp. simplex), all of which may be regarded as being of adjectival nature.

III. Dative Singular with -um.

1. Poetry.

scyppend: þeah þe ic scyppendum, / wuldorcyninze waccor hyrde / ricum dryhtne, þonne - - - Geb. IV 15.[1] *Recorded cases.*

2. Prose.

feohtend: setl zedafenað deman and steall fylstendum' oððe feohtendum Ælfc Hom I 48₆.

Cp. nsg. *feohtend, wiðfeohtend,* and dsg. *wiðfeohtende:* to fultome ðæm wiðfeohtende Past. 279¹.

scyppend: drihtne, urum scyppendum Reg. Ben. 25¹⁷. Ordinary form *scyppende* (prose and poetry).

wezferend: ne fæznode ic on mines feondes hryre, ne læz ælþeodiz man wiðutan minum hezum, ac min duru zeopenode symle wezferendum — ostium meum *viatori* patuit Ælfc Hom II 448₁₃ = Hiob IV (31³²). Cp. above p. 113.

fylstend: see above *feohtend.* — Cp. nsg. *fylstend* and *zefylstend,* both rather common, especially in Ps. gl.

moniend: þæt he azeafe his moniendum þa XII — L. creditore Greg. 158¹⁹ C (Ms. O, H maniende; so also 157³², where Ms. C has moniendan).

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[1] Perhaps attributively.

3. Glosses.

rīdend: cum equestri ridendum, mid ridendum Nap. gl. 1,4748; Hpt
gl. 515 b₂; cum equestri mid ridendum ib. 2,380; equestri,
i. ridendum ib. 7,331; New Aldh. gl. 258 b.

oferwinnend: expugnatore oferwinnendum Scint. 8₆. Cp. simplex
nsg. *winnend* Abbo gl. Cler 35.

inlaðiend: inlaðiʒendum (þinum) invitatori (tuo) Scint. 170₈.

lēaniend: remuneratore leaniendum Hpt gl. 424 b¹⁰; 492 a¹; re-
muneratore. i. gubernatore leaniendum Nap. gl. 1,767.

The word is never recorded in substantival forms,
but cp. *(ʒe)edlēaniend, eftlēaniend.*

ātendend: accensore atendendum Scint. 208³.

Adjectival flexion of hǣlend, etc. The names of the deity often occur with adjectival flexion,
but that is only before another name of God. So especially *hǣ-
lend* is very often used in that way, e. g., þæt is ure dryhten *hǣ-
lende* Crist Or. 250²⁵; urum drihtne *hǣlendum* Criste Bd III 2747;
cp. the commoner *hǣlende*, e. g., to *hǣlende* Criste L. S. XXXII
113. Sometimes it is also found with weak adjectival flexion, e. g.,
ure drihten *hǣlenda* Crist Bd IV 2260 O (Mss. B, T, *hǣlende*),
þam *hǣlendan* Criste Greg. 155¹⁵ C (Ms. H. *hǣlendum*). The above
quoted adjectival forms of *seyppend* will have to be accounted
for as springing from such combinations. In those combinations,
however, the words must certainly be regarded as adjs.; cp. the
asg. *hǣlendne* Crist, e. g. L. S. XXX 403. Cp. also *waldend ʒod*
(e. g., Par. Ps. 55,4) beside *waldende ʒod* (e. g., Cr. 1162).

um-forms in glosses. As was seen, the dsg. in -*um* is very often recorded in glos-
ses, nay, there is an evident preponderance of *um*-forms as com-
pared to *e*-forms in that case, cp. below. This circumstance is
undoubtedly due to a desire to mark the dat. case clearly, so as
to avoid ambiguity, the ending -*e*, in glosses, suggesting rather the
uninflected form. It is also worth noting that all existing instan-
ces are either from Aldh. gl. (Nap., Hpt.) or from Scint. There
is no doubt that, if such words as the Scint.-records *oferwinnend,
inlaðiend,* and *ātendend* had been used in a running text, they
would have exhibited substantival forms, if used substantivally.

um-forms in prose. Considering the fact, however, that dsg. is a not very com-
mon case, the comparatively frequent use of *um*-forms in words of
clearly substantival character is rather apt to surprise us. Only

in we3fērend do we find a word of more adjectival nature (ptc. >
adj. > sb.), cp. above, p. 102. And, as the examples show, it is
not only when L. has a ptc. in substantival use that the verbal
(adjectival) form is used in O. E., but also to translate a L.sb.
(viator, creditor). Perhaps there is a L. ptc. behind *feohtendum*
and *fylstendum* — I have not had an apportunity of ascertaining
that — but not behind the others. So we find that, also in dsg.,
the adjectival forms of the ptc. *could* be used substantivally, even
if there was a corresponding *end*-sb. in use.

For the sake of comparison, I also give the not very numerous   *Dat. sg.*
records of *dsg. with -e*, the ordinary dat.-ending of the clear   *with -e.*
end-sb. They are as follows:

Poetry: *healdend* Rä. 21,23; *seyppend* 7 × [1]; *wī3end* A. 983; *hælend*
  5 × [2]; *neriend* 6 × [2].

Prose: *feohtend* Past. 279[1]; *scyppend* often; *ā3end* Abt. 8 (2 ×),
  . Wi. 27; *æfterfyl3end* Bd 11 472, 1495, V 2251; *hælend* of-
  ten; *lænend* Ws. ev. L. 7,11; *ālīesend* Greg. 256[11]; *maniend*
  Greg. 157[32] (except Ms. C.), 158[19] (except Ms. C); *onsee3end*
  Conf. Ec3b. 166[6]; *sēmend* Wer 4.

Glosses: a) *other glosses than Lind. and Du. Ri.:*
    scyppend: ālӯsend Scint. 128[6].

  b) *Du. Ri.; Lind. G.*
    ēhtend Du. Ri. 64(3); *hælend; scyppend; þrēatend* Lind.
    Mt. 1 17[4]; 5,42; 11,12.

It is of interest to observe that the *um*-forms, when compa-   *Chronology*
red with the substantival forms, are of late date, that they are   *of e- and*
not recorded from Ælfred and the Laws (*moniendum*, as only   *um-forms.*
occurring in one Ms., reveals itself as due to the scribe) but oc-
cur 3 times in Ælfric, whereas the *e*-forms, are characteristic of
Ælfred and the Laws but are not recorded from Ælfc — I dis-
regard the common *hælend* and *scyppend*. That fact tallies very
well with the results reached in the case of napl, see p. 103 ff., where
we found that the adjectival form was characteristic of Ælfric's
language.

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[1] Given GR.-K., except Zaub. VIII 12 and Guðl., p. 636.

[2] Given GR.-K.

The preceding survey of the flexion of the substantival *end*-
nouns has shown us that adjectival endings may occur by the
side of the substantival ones, not only in the napl., but also,
though more exceptionally, in dat. sg. and nom. sg. In the last
cases, the adjectival forms have not gained the same firm foothold as
in napl., but are restricted to nomina virtutis or occur quite occa-
sionally in such words as do not seem to allow of the formation of
a clear *end*-noun; a few *um*-forms in the dat. sg. belong, how-
ever, to clearly substantival words. And while, of the whole num-
ber of recorded pl.-forms, the *e*-forms constitute a large propor-
tion, the number of *e*-forms in nasg. is exceedingly small, when
compared to the whole number of substantival forms.

The question then arises, what the reason can be for the
greater frequency of adjectival forms in the *pl.* than in the *sg.*
It may perhaps, at first, seem unnecessary to indicate any other
answer to that question than a reference to the fact that there
were already two cases in the pl. where conformity existed bet-
ween substantival and adjectival forms, viz., the gen. and dat., the
latter of which being the original starting-point for the passing
over of adjectival forms into the *end*-sb. But it is not clear why
that circumstance should influence the nom. and acc. pl. so much
more than the other cases, especially as there was also in the sg. one
case where identity existed between sb. and adj., viz., the genitive.

If an investigation is made into the occurrence of *end*-sb. in
different numbers (and cases), the actual development in O. E. of
these words will be quite clear and will appear to be quite in the
nature of things. The prose-words, which are almost all of them
words of rare occurrence, are, for the most part, recorded from the
nsg., as will be seen in the records of these words in the following
part of my treatise. It is thus quite natural that they should be
met with in the usual substantival form. The poetical words, on
the other hand, are, for the most part, recorded just in the *pl.*, in
the different cases, very often in gen. and dat., and the influence
from these cases is therefore very natural. Nay, the poetical *end*-
nouns occurring in the pl.-form with -*e* are, practically, pluralia
tantum, with only exceptional occurrence in the sg.

Statistics. Proof of this will be afforded by the following statistical
table, which comprises all poetical *end*-nouns, i. e., those *end*-
nouns that belong only, or at least chiefly, to poetical style. Such
parallel formations as belong to prose, and also existing prose-
records of chiefly poetical nouns, are given in brackets.

Formations	nasg.	gsg.	dsg.	napl.	gpl.	dpl.
[berend]	[3]			[2]		
æsc ~				3		
[ǣwisc ~]	[1]					
[disc ~]	[3]					
feorh ~					2	
ӡǣst ~				3		
ӡār ~				1	1	
helm ~				2	1	
lēoht ~	[4] 1					
reord ~				6	1	2
sāwol ~					1	
seӡn ~					1	
[sīð ~]	[1]					
sweord ~				1		
lyftflēoӡende					1	
daroð-lācende				2	1	
faroð ~	1			1		1
lyft ~	1			1		
līðend	1			1		
brim ~				1	1	
ēa ~						1
heaðo ~				1		2
mere ~				2		1
sǣ ~				5		
[scip ~]				[2]		[2]
wǣӡ ~				2		2
rǣdend	4					
maӡo ~		1				
sele ~				2		
scēotend				5	1	3
scieþþend(e?)					2	
bencsittende				1		1
burӡ ~				8	1	6
flet ~				1		3
heal ~					1	
[on ~]				[2]		
ymb ~				[1] 1	[1] 3	2
wīӡend	3		1	18	15	1
byrn ~				2	2	1
ӡār ~				1		
lind ~				2	1	
rond ~				2	2	
sweord ~					1	
	[12] 11	1	1	[7] 75	[1] 39	[2] 26

Formations	nasg.	gsg.	dsg.	napl.	gpl.	dpl.
	[12] 11	1	1	[7] 75	[1] 39	[2] 26
āӡend	[5] 13	1	[3]	1		
blǣd ~				1		
bold ~					1	1
burӡ ~					1	
folc ~	1			1	1	
mæӡn ~					1	
[blissiende]					[4]	
mōd ~					1	
brinӡend		1				
būend	[6]			[1]	1 [5]	
ān ~					1	
ceaster ~						1
eorð ~				[2] 18	[1] 10 [1]	9
feor ~				2		
fold ~				10	3	5
ӡrund ~					2	
hēr ~					2	1
īeӡ ~				2	1	1
[in ~]	[2]					
lond ~	[3]			[2] 3	1 [5]	4
nēah ~						1
sund ~				4		1
þēod ~					1	2
woruld ~				1	2	1
byrnende					1	
byrӡend				1		
cwāniende					1	
ӡōddōnd		1		1		
dēmend		2				
drǣfend		1				
drȳmend					1	
fēoӡende					1	
feormend				1	1	
fērend		1		2		
scip ~						1
weӡ ~	[6]		[1]	[3] 1	[1]	[1]
wīd ~				2		
feriend		1				
ǣ-fremmende				1		
firen ~					1	
ӡūð ~					2	
heaðo ~				1		
	[34] 32	2	[4] 1	[15] 128	[7] 76	[14] 54

Formations	nasg.	gsd.	dsg.	napl.	gpl.	dpl.
	[34] 32	2	[4] 1	[15] 128	[7] 76	[14] 54
mān ~					1	1
nāht ~					1	
riht ~				1	1	1
til ~					1	
wōh ~						1
fricʒende					1	
ǣ-fyllende					1	
ʒēocend	7					
ʒnornende					1	
hæbbende		1				
bord ~				1		
[heofonhæbbend]	[1]					
[landhæbbende]	[1]	[1]				
lind ~				1	1	
rond ~					1	
searo ~				1	3	
mæðelhēʒende					1	
hettend	[1]			7	1	3
eald ~				1		
moldhrērende					1	
[forhycʒend, - hoʒiend]	[3]					
[oferhoʒiend]	[1]					
bealohycʒende					1	
ʒlēaw ~	1					
ʒram ~				1		
nīð ~				2	1	
rǣd ~	1					
wiðer ~	2			1		
oferhylmend				1		
hȳðend					1	
lædend 'excuser'	1					
ǣ-lǣrend					1	
settend	2					
tūdortēonde					1	
rǣdþeahtende				1		
þeccend	1					
wēmend	1					
wincende					1	
[wuniʒend(e?)]		[1]				
dryht ~ wuniʒende					1	
woruld ~					1	
wyrcend	[5]			[3] 2	[1]	[2] 1
	[46] 49	[2] 3	[4] 1	[18] 148	[8] 99	[16] 61

Formations	nasg.	gsg.	dsg.	napl.	gpl.	dpl.
[efen ~]	[46] 49 [1]	[2] 3	[4] 1	[18] 148	[8] 99	[16] 61
[wel ~]						[1]
[wīn ~]						[1]
firen ~				1	1	
scyld ~	1			1		
syn ~	1			3	2	

Total [47] 51 [2] 3 [4] 1 [18] 153 [8] 102 [18] 61

The preceding tables are, in my mind, quite conclusive of my statement above (p. 120): the poetical *end*-nouns, especially the cpp. ones, are, practically, pl. tantum. Of the 51 records for nasg, about one half, or 24, are formed by *āʒend*, *rǣdend*, and *ʒēocend*, and if these and some few other names of the deity, all with not exclusively poetical character, are excepted, the number of records for the sg. will be exceedingly small, when compared with those of the pl. That is especially true of the cpp.-groups into which adjectival flexion has made its entry, viz., the groups -*līðend*, -*berend*, -*sittende*, -*wīʒend*, -*būend,* there existing only one cp. word recorded in sg., viz., the adjectival form *leohtberende*. Cp. the corresponding simplicia, among which records also occur for the sg., e. g., *līðend*, *wīʒend*.

The occurrence of an *end*-noun only in the pl. may, of course, be fortuitous. But, for the above mentioned words and for the poetical cpp. in -*end* in general, I think the circumstance stated is not fortuitous. There is evidently a tendency in O. E. towards using these words only in the pl. The words in question are only used as kennings for pl. words and have no independent existence, except as kennings. According to my opinion, consequently, *ʒārwīʒend*, to take an example, is a pl. tantum, though there is only one record to prove it. There certainly is a corresponding sg. word, too, but that is a word of different formation, viz. *ʒārwīʒa*.

Agential kennings in the n-tems.

The fact is that, by the side of the said *end*-nouns, there are generally also other words with the same meaning and of the same stylistic character, viz.. *an*-formations, which I shall have an opportunity of dealing with more particularly in another part of my treatise, which is not yet worked out. These other words are

used quite as much in the sg. as in the pl., nay, even more in the sg. The following figures for the most important of these words with parallel formations among the *end*-nouns will show that such is, indeed, the case. I consider only *cpp.* words and *poetical* records.

Formations	Number of sg. records	Number of pl. records	Remarks
horn- bora	—	1	
mund ~	14	—	
rǽd ~	3	—	In prose often pl.
rǽs ~	2	1	
wǽʒ ~	1	—	
wōð ~	5	1	
wrōht ~	2	—	
feorh ~	1 (Rä. 92,2)	—	
ān- floʒa	1	—	
ʒūð ~	1	—	
lyft ~	1	—	
ūht ~	1	—	
wīd ~	2	—	
sǽ- lida	5	—	
æsc- wiʒa	1[1]	1	[1] Ms. æswiʒa B. 2042.
beorn ~	1	—	
byrn ~	2	1	
cumbol ~	1	1	
folc ~	—	1	
ʒār ~	2	—	
ʒūð ~	2[1]	—	[1] One, not given Gr.-K., Rä. 92,4.
lind ~	1	—	
ord ~	1	—	
rand ~	2	3[1]	[1] One, not given Gr.-K., Ex. 126.
scyld ~	1	—	
þēod ~	1	—	
wǽpen ~	1	—	[1] Cp. simplex wiʒa 18 × in sg., 22 × in pl.
	55	10	

I believe that the preceding tables provide evidence that the *poetical cp. end*-nouns had an intrinsic character of their own, which made them applicable almost exclusively to pl. ideas, whereas the corresponding *an*-formations possessed applicability to ideas of a more individual character: *sǽ-līðend(e)* were the 'seafarers, seafaring people' as an aggregate, *sǽ-lida* was the seafaring indi-

Rules to be deduced.

vidual. It cannot possibly be fortuitous, or simply due to metrical reasons, that the occurrence of the said *end*-nouns is so constantly restricted to the pl., when there are exactly corresponding formations of another type that are preferably used in the sg. Of particularly great value as evidence are such pairs as *feorhbora / feorhberend, lyftfloʒa / lyftflēoʒende, sǣlida / sǣlīðend(e), byrnwiʒa / byrnwī-ʒend(e), ʒārwiʒa / ʒārwīʒend, lindwiʒa / lindwīʒende, randwiʒa / rand-wīʒende,* in two of which cases, *byrn-* and *randwiʒa / -wīʒend,* the pl. idea, the collectivity, certainly is expressed by both words, but the sg. idea is expressed simply and solely by the *an*-words.

Summary.   We are able now, after finishing our examination of the flexion of the *end*-nouns — especially of their adjectival forms —, to formulate the rules arrived at in the following way: *By the side of the clear substantival end-nouns with substantival flexion there are also adjectival ptcc. that can be used substantively without change of flexion.*[1] As many of these adjectival ptcc. used substantively form some very common cpp.-groups (*hycʒende*-cpp. a. o.), chiefly or exclusively used in poetical style, *the use of the adjectival ending -e of the napl. has been extended to several other poetical plural cpp. of the nature of kennings or variations; yet these are words which are real sb. (not adjs. used substantively), but whose lack of a sing. form made them most susceptible to attraction from adjectival ptcc.; and in these words the adjectival and substantival (endingless) pl.-forms are used side by side, without any visible difference in meaning. From the cpp. the ending has also in three cases passed over into the corresponding simple words. In prose, the adjectival pl.-ending is met with a few times, chiefly in Ælfric, though it is rare outside words that are not original adjs., or which easily allow themselves to be explained as such. In the same author (seldom in other texts) the adjectival ending -um in the dsg. is also found two or three times.* As regards the distribution of endingless pl.-forms and forms in -as, see above, p. 97 ff.

Substantival ptcc. with weak adjectival flexion.   To complete my investigation, I should, perhaps, also have treated of the substantival use of ptc. with *weak* adjectival form.

[1] Except in the asg., which never ends in *-ne* in ptcc. used substantively. The above question should be viewed in a wider connection. There does not, unfortunately, exist for O. E. any work dealing with the *substantivization* of *ordinary adjs.*, and so it is not clear as yet to what extent these could be used as sb. In OHG. it is very common, 'nimmt einen grossen Raum ein', see Diemer, Substantivierung d. Adj. im Ahd., p. 90 ff.

Owing to lack of space, however, and because they are of less interest for the subject here dealt with, they will be omitted. And then it will also be more appropriate to treat of them along with an examination of the substantival use of adjs. in general. What interests us about them will, moreover, be given in its place, see p. 201 ff. Be it enough to state here that ptcc., by the side of which there exist no corresponding *end*-sb., are very often used as sb. with weak adjectival flexion, and that, as it seems, every O. E. ptc. might, if necessary, be used substantivally in that way.

Lexicographical results of the preceding investigation.

At the beginning of the above chapter, I stated that great inconsistency is prevalent in the *recording* of *end*-sb. in different dictionaries, and even in one and the same dictionary. I now propose to summarize the results arrived at from just that point of view, i. e., the point of view of the lexicographical form of the different words.

The number of *end*-nouns with recorded substantival forms amounts to some 200 (+ cpp.). They need not be enumerated here, since they will all be given in the treatment of *end*-nouns as nom. ag., in the following section of my treatise. They form what I call:

Type 1: helpend, sb. m. 'helper'.

Then there is a small group of participial nouns that are never recorded with substantival forms, but with retained adjectival flexion in substantival use. They were given above (p. 117), though, for most of the poetical cpp.-groups mentioned there, it is doubtful whether they should be given as sb. at all, since they appeared to be only nom. virtutis, which, in this particular case, means adj. used substantivally. One of the cited words, viz., *synwyrcende*, was also shown (p. 93) to exist in substantival form in the pl. These words form, as far they ought to be registered as sb. at all:

Type 2: drincende ptc. sb. m. 'drinker, one who drinks'.

The words, however, to which I have been particularly devoting my attention in the present excursus, should not, in my opinion, be entered as either of the types indicated, but should be

given as pl. sb. They form, consequently, a group apart, to be
divided, moreover, into three subdivisions, viz.,

Type 3: a) ȝārwīȝend, sb. pl. 'spear-fighters, warriors'
        b) reordberende, sb. pl. 'speech-bearers, men'
        c) sǣlīðend(e), sb. pl. 'sea-farers, sailors'

An enumeration of the cases is uncalled for, since the words were all
given above (pp. 86—95), cp. tables pp. 121—124. It may be discus-
sed, however, whether a word should really be entered as type 3 a,
when it is recorded with exclusively substantival forms, but there
are parallel formations of it recorded with only adjectival forms,
and perhaps other formations recorded with both forms. Take,
e. g., the *wīȝend*-cpp. *ȝārwīȝend* has only substantival form;
rondwīȝende, only adjectival; *byrnwīȝend(e)* occurs with both forms.
It might, perhaps, be quite enough to use type 3 c, since the exis-
tence of only one of the forms is evidently quite fortuitous in
such cases.

Words belonging to common cpp.-groups, but lacking records
of probative force, i. e., words not recorded in na. but with pa-
rallel formations belonging to type 3, may safely be treated like
the latter. Thus, for instance, from the record *sǣwolberendra* (the
only record of the word) we can safely register a sb. *sǣwolberend(e)*,
for cp. *reordberend(e)*.

For a very large number of substantival ptcc., however, the sett-
ling of the head-form is very difficult, or even impossible, since
not only records of cases of probative force are lacking, but also
parallel formations. It really seems as if ptcc. could be used as
sb. more extensively in gen. and dat., chiefly in pl., than in the
other cases, which would be rather natural, too, since those
are the cases where the substantival and adjectival (verbal) forms
coincide. Generally, we thus find ptcc., in substantival use when the
L. original of the text has a corresponding expression, but some-
times also in other cases. I think that such ptcc., occasionally used
as sb. in cases that do not prove anything for the existence of a
sb., should not be entered as sb. in the dictionaries, but be given
as ptcc., with a particular statement that they are in a certain case
used substantivally. As there will certainly be various opinions
on the character of many ptcc., it will be best to give an enume-
ration of the cases in question. I then disregard 1) gloss-instan-

ces, unless L. lemma is a sb., cp. p. 88, 2) gdpl.-forms only re-
corded as preceded by the def. art.; such cases can be regarded
as having weak adjectival flexion.

A. Words occurring in the sg. (and sometimes in the pl.).

rǣdendes — legentis, coniectoris; *slǣpendes* — dormientis
[þam slæpendum]; *stelendes* — furantis;

clipiendes (clipiendra) — clamantis; *nellendes* — nolentis;

tǣcendes — jubentis; *þrēaȝendes* — correctoris; *wuniȝendes*
— habitatoris;

inlaðiendum — invitatori; *ātendendum* — accensore.

B. Words occurring only in the pl.

1) Poetical words.

lyftflēoȝendra; sceþþendra[1] 2 ×; *laȝuswemmendra; mōdblissi-
endra; byrnendra; cwāniendra; drīemendra; fēoȝendra; frieȝendra;
ǣfyllendra; ȝnornendra; moldhrērendra; ǣlǣrendra; tūdortēondra;
wincendra; dryht-, woruldwuniȝendra.*

2) Prose-words (+ glosses).

lēoȝendra — mentientum; *slītendra* — serpentium; *sinȝendra*
— psallentium (cp. þara sinȝendra, sinȝendum gl.); *unspreecendra*
— infantium (literal transl.); *sūcendra* — lactantium; *blissiendra*
lætantium; *āflīemendra* (vel wrōhtberendra) — excussorum; *ȝeōm-
riȝendra; hearpiȝendra* — timpanistriarum; *heofiendra* (cp. þa heo-
fiendan); *maðeliendra* — contionatorum, i. rethorum; *pleȝȝendra*
— timpanistriarum; *onspillendra* — parasitorum; *wordliendra* (see
maðeliendra); *wrǣstliendra* — luctatorum.

weȝfarendum (cp. þam infarendum, þam scipfarendum; þone
wīdfarendan); *ondrǣdendum; ǣtstandendum* (cp. þam ymbstanden-
dum) — circumstantibus; *dǣdbētendum* (cp. often se dǣdbētenda,
þa dǣdbētendan) — poenitentibus; *ācennendum* (Du Ri) — paren-
tibus; *fordēmendum* (Lind.) — accusatoribus; *hīenendum* (Lind.)
— accusatoribus; *behrēowsiȝendum* (cp. þa ~ an, þara ~ ra); *ymb-*

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[1] One prose-record (gl.) appears also, viz., *sceððendum*, gl. adversaris Du.
Ri. 113₂, which gloss depends on a misunderstanding of the L. lemma, which
is the 2nd pers. pr. conj. of the verb adversari, not dpl. of adversarius.

hrinȝendum (ymbðrinȝendum) — stipatoribus; *onlōciendum; and-swariȝendum* — respondentibus; *tīenendum.*

Objective reasons for regarding some of the given words as sb., others as ptcc. occasionally used substantively, can scarcely be found. Sometimes the semological character of the word makes its interpretation as sb. impossible. So, e. g., *nellendes* : an appellative ag.-n. from such a verb is not in accordance with O. E. usage. In other cases, where the word corresponds really to a L. sb. — not a ptc., in which case the accidental character of the substantival use of the ptc. is more obvious — and belongs to the common semological categories represented by this group, the word is most likely to have been felt as a pure substantival form. For such reasons, I regard as probable sb. the following of the given prose-words: *rǣdend, þrēaȝend, wuniȝend* (cp. *būend, eardiend*), *inlaðiend, ātendend* (cp. p. 118), *onspillend, fordēmend* (cp. *dēmend*), *aflīemend, hīenend, wrǣstliend*, and perhaps a few others. On the other hand, the following, at least, are clear adj. : *blissiende, mōdblissiende, ȝeōmriȝende, ȝnornende, heofiende, wincende.* Some of the poetical instances are of quite the same structure as the words of type 3. I therefore suggest the entry as type 3, and perhaps 3 b, of the words *lyftflēoȝende, laȝuswimmende, ǣfyllende, moldhrērende, dryht-* and *woruldwuniȝende, ǣlǣrend(e)*; Of the other poetical words, *sceðdend* (cp. *sceaða, hettend*) is the one most likely to be a true sb.; as regards the others, it would hardly be advisable to register them as subst. At any rate, it ought to be specially pointed out when a word which is entered as a sb. is not recorded in a form that proves its substantival character, e. g., by adding in brackets that it occurs only in a certain case. Such a word as *lyftflēoȝende*, consequently, might be entered in the following way : *lyftflēoȝende, sb. pl. m. (only gpl) 'birds'.*

In fact, it is often a matter of slight importance whether the last mentioned words should be regarded as real sb. or not, since, for the most part, they are not common O. E. words, but only occasional creations of a translator or glossator; they only show the possibilities of the language and the productivity of the type·

Nomina agentis in -end.[1]

1. Function of nom. ag. obscured in O. E.

A few *end*-nouns have lost their agential meaning:

1) *by assuming a specialized concrete sense.* The formal connection with the verb is retained, but scarcely the semological one, though it might have been felt, if reflected upon.

swelʒend, f. m. (n.?), 'gulf, abyss, whirlpool': *swelʒan* 'to swallow'.

 Records without marked gender: voragine *swelʒendi* Co. U. 271; vorago *swelʒend* Kent. gl. 449; Suppl. Ælfc voc 178[16]; Scint. 40 b; barathrum *squeliend* (read *sweliend*) Hpt. gl. 529 a$_{14}$; *swelʒend* Nap. gl. 1,$_{5468}$; voragine deopnysse ʒrutte *sweliende* 1,$_{4340}$; from leowsandene to *swelʒende*, ðanne fram *swelʒende* KCD. 657 III 227$_{15, 16}$ (A. D. 987).

 Records with fem. gender: sio ʒrundlease *swelʒend* Boeth. 19[7]; *sio swelʒend* þære upahæfenesse ('vortex of their elation') Past. 439[3]; to (fram) ðære *swelʒende* BCS 786 II 529$_{8, 7}$ (A. D. 943); ðonon on ða *swelʒende* BCS. 1213 III 492$_{10}$ (A. D. 968); to ðære *sweliende* of ðære *swelʒende* 660[15] (A. D. 975).

 Records with masc. gender: On Wiʒmundes *swelʒende*; of ðan *swelʒende* BCS. III 120[10] (A. D. 956); of ðæm *swelʒende* 417$_1$; andlonʒ streames on ðone sweliend 417$_1$ (A. D. 965); voraginis *swyliendes* eadwindan Hpt. gl. 421 a$_9$; Nap. gl. 1,$_{636}$ (Ms. H., N. *swelʒendes*); voraginis *swelʒendes* 7,$_{42}$; barathrum voraginis and ʒrut *swelʒendes* New Aldh. gl. 22,$_{23}$.

 Record with neut. gender?: on þ swelʒend BCS. III 332$_6$ (A. D. 963).

 J. PLATT[2] maintains that this word was of *fem.* gender in *early* ("alt"), and of masc. and neut. gender in *late, O. E.* ("spät"), an opinion with which SIEVERS seems to agree.[3] As

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[1] Continued from p. 82.

[2] Anglia VI 172.

[3] PBB. IX 253: "auf dessen Geschlechtswechsel PLATT aufmerksam gemacht hat".

will be seen from the above records, this statement does not contain the whole truth. In early O. E. (Ælfred), it is true, the word appears only as fem., but in late O. E., it occurs both with masc. and fem. gender; indeed, the latest fem. record — gloss-records disregarded — is of a slightly later date (A. D. 975) than the latest masc. one (965); yet, in the Aldh. gl. (Hpt and Nap.), it seems to be only masc. Again, the neut. gender assumed by PLATT (and SIEVERS) seems to me to be rather doubtful. It seems quite inexplicable in itself why such a word should assume neut. gender. The record referred to, viz. BCS. III 332_6 (A. D. 963), was given above: on *þ* swelʒend, in which case *þ* is read *þæt* by PLATT. Now, in the short charter in question, the sign *þ* is used no less than 8 times in 8 lines for the conjunction *þonne* (as BIRCH prints it). I suppose, therefore, that in our case the symbol *þ* stands for the similarly sounding form, *þone*, of the definite article, and, consequently, that the passage in question affords another instance of the masc. gender of the word.[1]

ʒeswelʒend = prec. word; voragine *ʒeswelinde* ʒrutte ł deopnysse Hpt. gl. 507 b[19].

        2) *by being differentiated in form from the primitive word:*

fēond 'enemy, foe': *fēoʒan* 'to hate'. Goth. *fijan*. Cp. Goth. *fijands*. O. H. G. *fi(j)ant, fient*. O. S. *fiond, fiund*, O. Frs. *fiand, fiund*. O. N. *fiandi*. The corresponding O. E. ptc. is *fēoʒende*, which is. like the inf. (*fēoʒan*), a secondary formation of the type of the *ō*-verbs; originally, the verb was an *ē*-verb, and the O. E. ag.-n. starts from a prim. Teut. form **fijēnd-*.[2]

        The word, like the next, is extremely common in poetry and prose during the whole O. E. period.

frēond 'friend': *frēoʒan* 'to love', Goth. *frijōn*. Cp. Goth. *frijōnds*: O. H. G. *friunt;* O. S. *friund:* O. Frs. *friōnd, friūnd:* O. N.

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[1] The originally fem. gender might lead one to think that the word represents a totally different type, viz., the one discussed above (p. 78) (*þēofend*). There is, however, no necessity for such a supposition.

[2] For the explanation of the O. E. *fēond*, from the point of view of sound-development, see v. HELTEN, PBB. XV 467 f.; BÜLBRING, Ae. Elem. b. §§ 117. 118 and Anm. 3; JANKO, IF. XX 246.

frændi; prim. Teut. **friōnd-*, **friūnd-*.[1] Cp. the O. E. ptc. *frēoȝende.*

Note also the collective words *ȝefīend* and *ȝefrīend!*

There is also another word that is obscured, perhaps not to the Anglo-Saxon, but at least to the etymologist, viz., the plant-name *hwatend* gl. Iris illirica Br. gl. 297[12]; Cl. gl. 430[10].

LEO, Ags. Glossar 591, gives the form *hwætend* and assumes connection with **hwasan,* (*hwēos;* inf. rather *hwǣsan*), which is impossible. LEO also gives a vb *hwātan* 'flare, spirare, schnauben, duften' with which it might be associated, if only there were any such verb (the other dictionaries do not mention it). There is a vb *hwatian* 'to practice divination', cp. *hwata* 'diviner, augur', but it is not clear why the plant should be called 'augur'. I can see no other possibility than to assume the existence, in O. E. or pre-Engl. times, of another vb **hwatian,* (**hwatōian*), with much the same meaning as *whettan* 'to whet, urge, incite, excite', both formed from the adj. *hwæt* (**hwato*) 'quick, active, vigorous',[2] the name of the plant 'e x c i t e r, i n v i g o r a t o r' referring to its aromatic qualities.[3] Cp. *hwer-hwette.*

II. Function of nom. ag. living in O. E.

A. Compound-groups.

1. Words occurring only in poetry.

a. Formations from strong verbs.

berend-cpp., occurring only in the pl.: *beran* IV 'to bear'.

    æscberend, kenning f. 'warriors'; A. 47; 1076; 1537[4].

    feorhberend(e) (only gpl.), kenn. f. 'men'; *ȝesecan sundor æȝhwylcne feorhberendra* Rä. 40,6; Gen. 1955.

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[1] v. HELTEN, ibid., BÜLBR. ibid.

[2] Cp. *ȝearwian* and *ȝierwan* 'to make ready': *ȝearo* 'ready'. It is commoner, it is true, for similar ō-vbs to be intr., and a vb **hwatian* would rather be expected to mean 'to be sharp'. One might think that the word might mean 'a thing that is sharp', the flower being denominated from its sharp, sword-like leaves (cp. Sw. *svärdslilja*), but there are to be found no *end*-nouns from such intr. vbs as are formed from adjs. In such cases, the adj. itself is used substantivally.

[3] Cp. SCHRADER, Reallexikon, pp. 44, 399.

[4] See above, p. 86.

ȝ*æstberend,* kenn. f. 'men'; Rä. 21,8; Cr. III 1600; Cræ. 2.[1]

ȝ*ārberend,* kenn. f. 'warriors'; ȝ*arberendra,* ȝuðfremmendra X hund ȝeteled tireadiȝra Ex. 231; By. 262.[1]

helmberend, kenn. f. 'warriors'; B. 2517; 2642;[1] ne rohte he to ðære hilde *helmberendra* Hö. 37.

reordberend(e), kenn. f. 'men'; Cross 3; 89; Cr. I 278; 381; III 1025; 1369; Dan. A. 123; A 419; E. 1281.[2]

sā*wolberend(e)* (only gpl.), kenn. f. 'men'; *sawlberendra* - - - niðða bearna, ȝrundbuendra ȝearwe stowe B. 1014.

se*ȝnberend(e)* (only gpl.), kenn. f. 'warriors'; ne mæȝ mec oferswiðan *seȝnberendra* æniȝ Rä. 41,20.

sweordberende, kenn. f. 'warriors'; Gen. 1060.[3]

    Of the poetical *berend*-cpp., consequently, 5 are kenn. for 'warriors', 4 for 'men'. In the latter case, *-berend* has almost assumed the character of a suffix. All records belong to the oldest O. E. literature, except ȝ*arberend* in By.[4]

    Cp. O. N. *hring-, rand-, seið-, skrǫk-, swerð-berendr.* sb. pl.; O. S. *helmberand, wāpanberand.*

drincende-cpp.,: drincan III 'to drink'.

ealodrincende 'beer-drinkers', kenning for 'partakers of a banquet, guests'; B. 1945.[3]

lā*cende-cpp.,* chiefly used in the pl.: lā*can,* redupl. vb. 'to move quickly'.

dareðlācende 'javelin-brandishers, lance-warriors', kenn. f. 'warriors';[5] E. 37; 651, Pa. 53.[3]

faroðlācende 'sea-farer'; A 507;[6] Walf. 20;[3] se bið eft ȝemeted - - *fareðlacendum,* niðða ȝehwylcum Walf 5.

lyftlācende 'air-flyer, one (anything) sporting in the air': Jul. 281 (variation of *þeȝn*);[6] Dan. 388 (variation of *fuȝelas*).[3]

    A double interpretation of the lā*cende*-cpp. is often possible, viz., as sb. or as app. ptcc. In some of the given cases, the latter interpretation may perhaps be preferable, or at least quite as justified.

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[1] See above, p. 86.

[2] See above, p. 91.

[3] See above, p. 94.

[4] Cp. for these words also Rankin IX, pp. 64—67.

[5] Cp. lā*can daroðum* 'to fight'.

[6] See above, p. 113.

līðend-cpp.; simple word sg. and pl.; cpp. only pl.: *līðan* I 'to go,
travel', especially by sea.

 līðend 'sailor',; B. 221;[1] *līðend* brohte / elebeames twiʒ an
  to handa / ʒrene blædæ Gen. 1472.[2]

 brimlīðende 'sea-farers'; B. 568;[1] wicinʒa ar, se abead *brim-*
  līðendra ærende to þam eorle By. 27.

 c̄alīðende 'sea-farers'; wæron hie on ʒescirplan scipferendum
  eorlas onlice *ealīðendum* A. 251.

 heaðolīðende 'sea-warriors'; B. 1798[1]; þæt he sæmannum
  onsacan mihte *heaðolīðendum* hord forstandan 2955;
  A. 426.

 merelīðende 'sea-farers'; B. 255; Gen. 1407 ;[1] A. 353.

 sǣlīðend(e) 'sea-farers'; B. 397; 411; 1818; 2806; Walf. 48.[3]

 wǣʒlīðende 'sea-farers'; *weʒlīðendum* wide ʒesyne B. 3158;
  Gen. 1395; 1432; Walf. 11.[1]

  Cp. O. N. *līðendr*,[4] O. S. *lagulīðand, sēolīðand, wāg-*
  līðand 'sea-farers'.

rǣdend-cpp. : rǣdan red. vb. 1) 'to rule' 2) 'to advise.'

 rǣdend 'ruler' (of God); rodera *rǣdend* B. 1555; A. 627; 816;
  Edg. B. 23; swa is dryhten ʒod dreama *rǣdend* Pa. 55.
  — Sw. gives the word as poetical, quite rightly, but
  registers, at the same time, the sense of 'sooth-sayer', as
  well as 'ruler', which will be due to a misunderstanding
  of Pa. 55, or, perhaps rather, he has a gloss-record in
  his mind, see *rǣdend*, p. 178, which latter word I dis-
  associate here altogether from the poetical *rǣdend* just
  dealt with.

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[1] Se above, p. 94.

[2] *nsg.*, thus. the traveller = the dove (BT.); *dsg.*, thus = Noah (BOUTERW.).
The latter interpretation accords better with the sense of the word as known
from the other instances ('sailor' not very appropriate of the dove); besides,
the expression *on handa* will scarcely be found without a dat. On the other
hand, there are no instances of the dat. of *end*-nouns without an ending (see
above, p. 117 f.) except in the Northu. dial., where such forms are common (CAR-
PENTER § 467); but as the poem is likely to have originated in Northumbria,
this fact will not cause any insuperable obstacles to that interpretation.

[3] See above, p. 91.

[4] JONSSON, Skjaldesprog 67, who may often be consulted for the O. N. par-
ticipial nouns.

maȝorǣdend 'adviser of men'; woldon *maȝorædendes* mod
    oncyrran (of Andrew) A. 1461.

selerǣdend 'hallrulers', kenn. for 'men'; B. 1346; A. 659[1];
    men ne cunnon secȝan to soðe *selerædende* (Ms. *seie ræ-
    denne*) hwa þam hlæste onfenȝ B. 51. — Gr.-K. trans-
    lates the word by 'aulam administrans vel possidens', and
    the same sense is given by all O. E. lexicographers.[2]
    Cp. O. S. *rādand* (of Christ), O. N. *ráðandi* with cpp.
alls- jarð-, landráðandi.

sittende-cpp., occurring only in the pl.: *sittan* V 'to sit'.

bencsittende, kenning for 'partakers of a banquet': hæleðum
    cweman, blissian æt beore *bencsittendum* Wy. 78; Jud.
    27.[3]

burȝsittende 'town-dwellers, citizens', generally a kenning
    for 'men';[4] þæt is wide cuð *burhsittendum* Gen. 2815;
    folca bearn - - *burhsittende* Gen. 1086; Rä. 26,8; Gen.
    2326; 2838; Dan. B. 299 = Az. 19; Dan. A. 660; 724;
    730; Cr. 1 337; A. 1201; E. 276; Metr. 27,17; Jud. 159[3].
    — BT. wrongly regards it as an adj. in some of the
    passages quoted.

fletsittende 'hallsitter, courtier' (Sw.) 'court-resident' (BT.)·
    'in aula sedens' (Gr.-K.), 'partakers of a banquet, guests'
    (my own translation); B. 2022[3]; þa wæs eft swa ær
    ellenrofum. *fletsittendum* fæȝere ȝereorded - -, dryht-
    ȝumum. Duȝuð - - B. 1788: þa yldestan þeȝnas - - his
    weaȝesiðas, bealde byrnwiȝȝende. þær wæron bollan
    steape boren æfter bencum ȝelome, swylce eac bunan
    and orcas fulle *fletsittendum* Jud. 19; swa het se ȝumena
    aldor fylȝan *fletsittendum* 33.

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[1] See above, p. 91.

[2] The sense of 'aulates' administranm', 'die einen Saal besorgen' (Holthau-
sen) seems scarcely to be to the point, only 'aulam 'possidentes', die einen Saal
besitzen', i. e.,'the independent subjects of the country'. later as a kenning for
'men' in general —. Moreover, it may be questioned whether another inter-
pretation is not possible, with the same meaning as in *maȝo-rǣdend*, thus
'advisers in the the hall, wise men in the hall'. The epithet *snottre* and the men-
tioning of *medelstede* A. 659 — ȝewat in bold oðer. þær him toȝenes - - to
þam medelstede maniȝe comon. snottre seleraedend — speaks, indeed, for such
a supposition. In the other two records as well, it is the question of people
telling, or being able to tell, something.

[3] See above, p. 94.

[4] Cp. Bode, Kenningar, p. 33.

To judge from the record B. 1788 and Jud. 19, it
may even seem as if *fletsittende* were a mere variant of
þeʒnas, with the sense of 'courtier'. But no more than
ellenrofe, *dryhtʒuman*, *duʒuð*, *weaʒesiðas*, and *byrnwiʒ-*
ʒende, can this word be said to mean 'courtiers', be-
cause it is used of courtiers. In all the instances given,
the *þeʒnas* are sitting in the hall, assembled at a ban-
quet, and that is the reason why they are here called
fletsittende, which is, accordingly, synonomous with *benc-*
sittende (see this word) and *heallsittende* (see next
word). Indeed, *heallsittende* and *fletsittende* are used
in the same context in B. 2015 and 2022, just as *bencsit-*
tende and *fletsittende* in Jud. 19, 27, and 33. The word,
consequently, denotes people sitting in a hall *on a cer-*
tain occasion (to partake of a banquet), not people of
whom it is *characteristic* to sit in the hall (as being
courtiers, *þeʒnas*).

heallsittende, kenning for 'partakers of a banquet'; ne seah
ic widan feorh under heofones hwealf *heallsittendra* me-
dudream maran B. 2015; þonne on ealubence oft ʒe-
sealde *heallsittendum* helm and byrnan, þeoden his þeʒ-
num B. 2868.

ymbsittend 'neighbouring peoples'; B. 1827[1]; næs se folc-
cyning *ymbsittendra* æniʒ þara 2734; E. 33; we synd
ʒewordene wera cneorissum eallum edwitstæf *ymbsitten-*
dum Par. Ps. 78,4; 88,34.

Cp. the prose-word *ymbsittend*, p. 144.

Cp. Goth. *bisitands* 'neighbour'.

wiʒend-cpp.; simple word sg. and pl., cpp. only pl.: *wiʒan* 'to fight',
only recorded B. 2509, and as pr. ptc. in a few passages.

wiʒend 'warrior'[2]; he manna wæs *wiʒend* weorð-fullost B.
3099; Men. 24; þonne *wiʒʒend* onweccan Jud. 258; þam
wiʒʒende ʒeseʒʒan E. 983; (þa) *wiʒend* B. 1125; 1814;
3024; 3144; F. 11; 49; Ex. 180; 328; Gen. 1411; A. 850;
1053; 1203; 1297; E. 106; By. 302; Jud. 69; 141; 313;[3]
wiʒendra hleo B. 429; 899; 1972; 2337; A. 506; 896;

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[1] See above, p. 86.

[2] Cp. in prose: hundtwelftiʒ þusenda *wiʒendra manna* AssM. Ælfc p.
103.54. The usual prose-word is *cempa*.

[3] See above, p. 87.

1450; 1672; Cr. I 409; Edm. 12; *wiʒendra* þrym A. 887;
1572; *wiʒendra* þreat A. 1095; 1608; *wiʒendra* scola
Metr. 26,31; cwæð to þam *wiʒʒendum* Jud. 283.

burʒwīʒend(e)? See next word.

byrnwīʒend(e) 'corslet-clad warriors', kenning for 'warriors';
ymbsittendra awer meahte abannan to beadwe *burʒwi-
ʒendra* (HOLTHAUSEN reads, certainly rightly, *byrnwiʒen-
dra*) E. 224; ʒehlodon hildesercum, - -, *byrnwiʒendum*,
werum and wifum wæʒhenʒestas E. 236; Hö. 38; Jud.
17.[1]

ʒārwīʒend 'spear-warriors', kenning for 'warriors'; B. 2641.[2]

lindwīʒende 'shield-warriors', kenning for 'warriors'; heape
ʒecoste *lindwiʒendra* land ʒesohte E. 270; Metr. 1,13;
Jud. 42.[3]

rondwīʒende = prec. word; randwiʒʒendra rim Ex. 435; ʒu-
mena ʒehwæne þyssa burhleoda - - *rondwiʒʒendra* Jud.
188; Jud. 11; 20.[3]

sweordwīʒend(e) 'sword-warriors', kenning for 'warriors';
sweordwiʒendra side herʒas Ex. 260.

The first member of all *wīʒend*-cpp. denotes the weapon —
and so *burʒwiʒendra* will certainly have to be emendated into
byrnwiʒendra —, but is a mere epith. ornans, without any distin-
guishing character.

The word is common to all West Teut. languages: O. H. G.
wīgant, O. S. *wīgand*, O. Frs. *wīgand*.

b.   Formations from weak verbs.

aʒende-cpp.[4], chiefly occurring in the pl.: *āʒan* 'to possess'.

boldāʒende (only gdpl), 'house-owners', hardly more than a
kenning for 'men'; ʒebeodan - - hæleða moneʒum *bolda-
ʒendra* þæt hie B. 3112; him ræd witan *boldaʒendum*
bæm ætsomne Exet. 93.

burʒāʒende (only gpl.), 'city-possessors', used as a kenning for
'kings'; þam æðelestan cordcyninʒa *burʒaʒendra* E. 1174.

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[1] See above, p. 91.
[2] See above, p. 87.
[3] See above, p. 94.
[4] Simplex *āʒend*, too, is chiefly a poetical word, but occurs also in the
Laws, and is therefore given under 2.

folcāʒende 'ruler, Herr einer Schar'; J. 186; B. 3113[1]; nis se
foldan sceat - - monʒum ʒefere folcaʒendra[2] Ph. 5.

Substantival āʒende-cpp. with the semological character of concrete
nom. virtutis are met with in blǣdāʒende 'prosperous men' B. 1013[1] and
mæʒenāʒende 'strong men', 'strength-possessors' B. 2837[3].

bŭend-cpp.[4], occurring only in the pl.: bŭan 'to dwell; inhabit'.

ānbŭend(e) (only gpl), 'people dwelling alone, anchorites, her-
mits', for which idea it will have to be regarded as a
kenning[5]; eahteð anbuendra Guþl. A. 59.

ceasterbŭend(e) (only dpl.), 'citizen'; Denum eallum wearð
ceasterbuendum - - ealuscerwen B. 768.

eorðbŭend(e) 'earth-inhabitants', kenning for 'men, people'[6],
very common in O. E., as the following statistics will
show[7]: F. 32; Gen. 1000; 1636; 1648; 1685; 1754; 1759;
2617; Ex. 84; Dan. A. 565; Rä. 30,8; Cr. I 422; II 719;
III 1279; 1324; Sat. 1; Metr. 10,25,36; 11,18; 19,13; 26,94;
29,73; Geb. III 8; Par. Ps. 65,1,7; 66,4; 82,14; 93,11; 95,4;
100,6; 101,13; 118,130; 134,5; Eadw. Ps. 93,10; Ben. Off.
64,11 = Credo 21; Dom. 129.

As for prose-records, see p. 144.

feorrbŭend 'people dwelling far off'[8]; B. 254; Sal. 279.[9]

foldbŭend(e) = eorðbŭend; B. 309; 1355; 2274; Rä. II 13; Guþl.
I 35; II 844; E. 1013; Az. 24; Cr. III 868; 1178; Hö.
101; 105; Past. (poem) II 2; Metr. VIII 4; XVII 2; 21;
Credo 21; 22; Par. Ps. 64,10 = Ben. Off. 64,11, 12[8]

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[1] See above, p. 94.

[2] SWEET reads foldaʒendra.

[3] Cp. above, p. 109.

[4] Simplex bŭend is a prose-word, see p. 147.

[5] Cp. also MC GILLIVRAY, Influence of Christianity, § 186 (§§ 262, 266).

[6] The word has been given as poetical, in spite of the existence of 4
prose records. The prose instances, however, occur for the most part in Ælfc.,
where the word may be regarded as a poetical loanword (cp. above, p. 102 f.).
One instance, Wulfst. 137[24]: eall Adames cynn eorðbuʒicndra, is taken over
directly from Dom. 129: eal Adames cnosl eorðbuendra, both originating
in L. habitatores terræ, or something similar (cp. RANKIN IX 64). For the poe-
tical (kenning) character of the word also the fact speaks that it occurs 6 ×
in Metr., but not at all in the prose version of Boeth. Cp. foot-note 5 next p.

[7] Cp. above, p. 91.

[8] Cp. above, p. 92.

[9] GR. reads foldbuende, which emendation is rejected by SWEET in his
Collation, Anglia I 151.

ʒrundbūend(e) (only gpl.), = prec. word; sawlberendra - - - niðða
    bearna, *ʒrundbuendra ʒearwe* stowe B. 1006; Sal. 288.

hērbūend(e) (only gpl.), 'dwellers here on earth'; Jabal - - -
    herbuendra hearpan ærest handum sinum hlyn awehte
    Gen. 1079; Metr. 29,62; Jud. 96.

īeʒbūende 'islanders', kenning for 'Englishmen, Anglo-Saxons';
    þis ærendʒewrit Agustinus ofer sealtne sæ suðan brohte
    ieʒbuendum Past. 9⁸; *iʒbuende, Enʒle* and Seaxe Men.
    185; Edg. A. 4; B. 37.

londbūend(e) 'inhabitants of the country, of the earth', ken-
    ning for 'men, people': se bið leofast *londbuendum* W.
    132; B. 95; 1345; ælda bearn, *londbuendra* læstas Rä.
    85,11; Sat. 684; he ʒedæleð - - missenlice - - leoda leoðo-
    cræftas *londbuendum* Cræ. 29; Jud. 226; 315.[1]

        Cp. the prose-word *londbūend*, see p. 145.

nēahbūend(e) (only dpl.), 'neighbours'; ic eom wunderlicu
    wiht wifum on hyhta *nehbuendum* nyt Rä. 26,2.[2]

sundbūend 'earth-inhabitants', (not 'maris accolæ'),[3] kenning
    for 'men': Cr. I 73; 221; Metr. 8,13; 24,21; 26,48.[1]

þēodbūend(e) (only gpl.), = prec. word; þær he earfeðu ʒeðo-
    lade fore þearfe *þeodbuendra* Cr. II 616; III 1173; 1372.

woruldbūende = prec. word; Metr. 8,35[4]; edlean on riht weorð
    be ʒeworhtum *woruldbuendum* 27,27; 29,83; Jud. 82.

    The poetical *būend*-cpp. thus turn out to be kennings for 'men,
people', though a few of them are used in a somewhat restricted
sense — *ān* ~, *feorr* ~, and *nēah* ~, *īeʒ* ~, *ceaster* ~ —, one, viz.,
ʒrund ~, in a wider sense, meaning 'living beings moving on
the surface of the earth', as opposed to *lyftflēoʒende* and *laʒuswim-
mende*. As to L. words corresponding in sense, such as habi-
tatores orbis, terræ, urbium: terrigenæ, ruricolæ, see Rankin.[5]

    Cp. the simple word *būend* (prose-word); cp. O. N. *búandi*,
O. S. *erthbūandi*.

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   [1] See above, p. 92.
   [2] Cp. the prose-word *nēahʒebūr*.
   [3] See Cosijn, Anglosaxonica IV PBB. 23,109.
   [4] See above, p. 94.
   [5] JEG. Ph. IX 64 ff., 67. — That it is influence from the L. which is the cause
of the frequent use in O. E. religious poems of *būend*-cpp. seems fairly clear,

fẽrend-cpp.; simple word sg. and pl.; cpp. only pl.: *fẽran* 'to march, travel, sail'.

> *fẽrend,* 'one who marches, messenger, sailor'; Rä. 84,5 [1]; J. 60; Walf. 25.[2]
>
> *scipfẽrend(e)* (only dpl.), 'seafarers, sailors'; A. 251.[3]
>
> *wīdfẽrende* 'people going afar, coming from far off'; A. 279; Az. 130[4]. — Verges on a concr. nom. virt.

fremmende-cpp., occurring almost exclusively in the pl.: *fremman* 'to perform, make, do'.

> *ǣfremmende,* 'fulfillers of the law, lawful people'; J. 648.[4]
>
> *firenfremmende,* (only gpl.), 'sinners, sinfull people'; for ælda lufan *firenfremmendra* fela þrowode Cr. III 1118.
>
> *gūþfremmende* (only gpl.), 'warriors'; leafnesword *gūðfremmendra* B. 246; 299.[5]
>
> *heaðofremmende,* 'warriors'; E. 130.[4]
>
> *mānfremmende,* 'sinner(s)'; J. 137[6]; arleasra spatl of muðe onfenʒ *manfremmendra* Cr. III 1437; Ph. 6.
>
> *nāhtfremmende* (only gpl.), 'evildoers', properly 'people who do nothing', cp. other cpp. with *nāht-*, e. g., *nāhtʒītsung* 'wicked avarice'; ʒenere me fram niðe *nahtfremmendra* þe her unrihtes ealle wyrceað Par. Ps. 58,2 = Ben. Off. 68[27] — L. eripe me de operantibus iniquitatem.
>
> *rihtfremmende* 'people who do right, righteous men'; haliʒra blod *ryhtfremmendra* J. 8; Cr. III 1656; Ph. 632.[4]

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and to this may possibly be traced their origin, too. — indeed, the existing prose word *londbūend* shows a different sense from that of the poetical *londbūend* and the other *būend*-cpp. — But the explanation given by RANKIN for the occurrence of *būend*-cpp. in B., Wids. and F. — that they are due to the colloquial and everyday character which these words adopted very early — must decidedly be rejected. It is in itself most unlikely, and even absurd, that the Anglo-Saxons should have used such expressions as 'earth-dwellers' for 'men, people' in everyday speech, when they had other current words. And then, if they had, we should expect to find some evidence of their use in prose, but we do not. Cp. footnote, p. 139. Indeed the difficulty involved disappears altogether by assuming, as will now be generally done, that Gen. is the oldest piece of O. E. poetry.

[1] Cp. above, p. 111.

[2] See above, p. 87. — Not used in prose, where we find the cp. *weʒfẽrend* (see p. 145) instead, and the weak adjectival form *se fẽrenda,* which will also be the form intended in such an ambiguous case as: axsode from *ðæm ferendum* minra wiestowa Ep. Alex. Arist. 408.

[3] See above, p. 135, example under *ẽaliðend!*

[4] See above, p. 95.

[5] Ms. *ʒodfremmendra,* corrected by HOLTZMANN, Germ. 8,490.

[6] See above, p. 113.

tilfremmende (only gpl.), = prec. word; hrinȝ on hyrede hælend nemde *tilfremmendra* Rä. 60,7.

wōhfremmende (only dpl.), 'evildoers'; drihten ametan wolde wrece be ȝewyrhtum *wohfremmendum* Metr. 9,36.

Only one sg. record was found, viz. *mānfremmende* J. 137, the substantival character of which form is uncertain. I regard all the words printed in small type as concr. nom. virt., consequently only *ȝūð*- and *heaðofremmende* as true ag.-n.

hæbbende-cpp., cpp. occurring only in the pl.: *habban* 'to have'.

hæbbend(e?), only gsg. 'possessor'; þæm wæs on siððe *hæbbendes* hyht Rä. 65,3.

bordhæbbende 'shield-bearers'; B. 2895.[1]

lindhæbbende = prec. word; B. 245[1]; ȝumfeða stop *lindhæbbendra* B 1042.

rondhæbbende (only gpl.), = prec. word; oðer næniȝ selra nære *rondhæbbendra* rices wyrðra B. 861.

searohæbbende 'armour-clad people'; hwæt syndon ȝe *searohæbbendra*, byrnan werede B. 237; A. 1468; 1528[1]; Pharao 6.

The poetical *hæbbende-cpp.*, accordingly, are all kennings for 'warriors'. Perhaps *daroðhæbbende*, nsg., J. 68, *drēamhæbbendra* Gen. 81, and *eardhæbbendra* Par. Ps. 86,6 can be interpreted as substantival, too, though I think they will be preferably regarded as app. ptcc. — *-hæbbende* does not retain much of its — even originally — very weak and colourless meaning, and is, indeed, little more than a suffix, meaning '*having, possessed of*'. For my part, I am therefore inclined to regard all the given cpp. as concr. nom. virt., though verging on nom. ag., and have marked them above as nom. virt.

Cp. O. N. *hafendr* in *sigr-hafendr* 'victors' (Eg.)

hycȝende-cpp.: *hycȝan, hoȝian* 'to think (of)'.

bealohycȝende (only gpl.), 'people meditating evil'; æȝhwæðrum wæs - - *bealohycȝendra* - - broȝa fram oðrum B. 2565.

ȝlēawhycȝende 'wise man'; J. 252.[2]

ȝramhycȝende 'fierce, hostile people'; Par. Ps. 68,25.[1]

nīðhycȝende = prec. word; Cr. III 1110; Jud. 233[1]; wealden ȝod *nīðhycȝendra* heafdas feonda her ȝescæneð Par. Ps. 67,21.

rǣdhycȝende 'one thinking of advice, prudent man'; Fä. 26.[3]

wiðerhycȝende 'hostile man'; A. 1172; E. 951[3]; A. 1072.[1]

The *hycȝende*-cpp. are decidedly adjectival and not nom. ag. By their side are often to be found synonymous formations with *-hyȝdiȝ*.

Cp. O. N. *samhygggjendr* 'consentientes' (Eg.).

wuniȝende-cpp.[4], occurring only in the pl.: *wunian* 'to live, dwell'.

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[1] See above, p. 95.
[2] See above, p. 113.
[3] See above, p. 114.
[4] Cp. Rankin IX 65.

dryhtwuniende (only gpl.), 'dwellers among people', kenning
for 'men, people'; aʒne spede, þara æʒhwylc mot *dryht-wuniendra* dæl onfon Cræ. 7.

woruldwuniende (only gpl.), 'dwellers in the world', kenning
for 'men'; þara micles to feola *woruldwuniendra* winð
wið ʒecynde Metr. XIII 17.

wyrcend-cpp. : wyrcan 'to work, perform'.

wyrcend 'worker', see further, p. 147. Poetical only in con-
nection with a word meaning sin : *faenes wyrcend* Par.
Ps. 100,3; *unrihtes wyrcend* 70,3. In its ordinay prose
meaning of 'worker, maker', it is used once poetically,
viz. Par. Ps. 113,17.

firenwyrcende 'sinners'; me of folmum afere *firenwyrcendra*
Par. Ps. 70,3; 72,2.[1]

scyldwyrcende 'sinner'; J. 445.[2]

synwyrcend(e), 'sinner'; E. 395; 943; Cr. III 1105;[3] bið æʒhwyl-
cum *synwyrcendra* Cr. II 842; Par. Ps. 81,2; 140,11.[3]

The poetical *wyrcend-cpp.* are all kennings for 'sinner', and
as there is no proper subst. in O. E. to express the idea, they might
perhaps rather be regarded as concr. nom. virt. Note, however,
the substantival flexion Cr. III 1105. Cp. also above, p. 109, and
cp. *fremmende*-cpp.

Cp. O. N. *yrkjendr* (Skjaldesprog 68).

2. Prose words.[4]

a. The prose word is a cp.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

berend-cpp., cp. above p. 133 f.

lēohtberend 'lightbearer', used of Lucifer, of which, accor-
dingly, it is a literal translation; Sat. 367;[5] Ælfc Hom.
I 10,14; Ælfc de Test. 2,35; Ælfc gr. 27,14; Wulfst. 306,24.

drincende-cpp., cp. above, p. 134.

drincende, see p. 146.

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[1] See above, p. 95.
[2] See above, p. 114.
[3] See above, p. 93.
[4] The words are considered as prose words, provided they are recorded
in prose, with or without parallel poetical use (or use in glosses).
[5] See above, pp. 111, 115.

windrincende 'one who drinks wine', translating potator vini
WS. Gosp. Mt. 11,19.[1]

līðend-cpp., cp. above p. 135.

scipliðende 'shipfarers, sailors'; Mart. 84[13,18]; þa þe *scypli-*
ðendum nydþearflicu ʒesewen wæron — L. navigantibus
Bd V 947; L. S. 33,188.[2]

sittend-cpp., cp. above, p. 136.

onsittend[3] 'one who sits upon (a horse), a rider': *onsittan*
'to occupy', not recorded with exactly the meaning of
'to ride', but cp. *onsetl* 'riding' (Sw.); þa *onsittend(as)*
(-an) þara horsa — L. sessores Greg. 15[10].[4]

ymbsittend 'surrounding people', cp. in poetry 'surrounding
peoples, neighbouring nations;[5] þa þær wuniendan mæ-
niʒu his *ymbsittendra,* he ʒeciʒde daʒa ʒehwylce to þam
rihtan ʒeleafan Greg. 122[1]; bysceope and hine ʒrette and
þu ymbsittend — L. salutavit episcopum et convivas
Bd V 513.

Sittend-cpp., consequently, occur in prose only, if the 1st
member of the cp. is a preposition, and only as long as there is
a corresponding compounded verb. But even then, prose seems
to prefer an adjectival form, the words being inflected like weak
adj.; such is the case in some of the Mss. in the passages quoted, and
also exclusively in some other cases, e. g., Bd. IV 1497: þa frunan
hi *þa ymbsittendan* — L. a circumsedentibus; Ap. Tyr. 26[19]; 27[25].
Note also such ambiguous cases, as sæʒde to *þam sittendum* Ælfc
Hom. 1 182[18].

β) Formations from weak verbs.

būend-cpp., cp. above p. 139.

eorðbūende 'earthdwellers'; ealle *eorðbuende* sind to nahte
ʒetealde Ælfc Hom II 434[14]; 124[16]; bæd þone ælmihtiʒan
ʒod þæt he renas forʒeafe *eorðbuʒiendum* L. S. 18,144;
Wulfst. 137[24].

Poetical loan-word in O. E. religious prose, cp. pp.
102, 139, footnotes.

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[1] Cp. above, p. 114.
[2] Cp. above, pp. 96, 102.
[3] Not given in any dictionary.
[4] Cp. above, p. 89.
[5] Cp. above, p. 137.

londbūend 'cultivator of land, husbandman, tiller' (cp. poetical *londbuend* p. 140); ðæm scipmannum is beboden ӡelice and ðæm *landbuendum* þæt ealles þæs þe him on heora ceape ӡeweaxe Eccl. Inst. 432 XXXV (heading of the piece: þe be cypinӡum libbað); gl. agricola colonus Lind. 11 ×.[1]

īerend-cpp., cp. above, p. 141.

weӡfērend 'traveller'; ӡif þu nu wære *weӡferend* and hæfdest micel ӡold on þe Boeth. 33[9]; 33[14]; oðer *weӡferend* hine sylfne to him ӡeþeodde Greg. 128[9]; 314[12]; for *weӡferendra* ӡecelnesse — L. viantium Bd. II 1710 O. T; quasi viator swa *wiferend* Kent. gl. 137;[2] Ælfc Hom. I 254[7]; II 90[16]; 448[13] = Hiob IV (31[32]); Basil fil. spir. 38[5]; gloss. viator Scint. 187[6]; 225[10].

Occurs once in poetry, viz., Par. Ps. 88,34.[3]

hæbbende-cpp., cp. above, p. 142.

landhæbbende 'landowner' "(in adliger Weise) grundbesitzend, Eigner (über bäuerlichen Hintersassen)" (Liebermann); Ine 45: Ine Rb 64 Ld; tribunus *londhæbbende* uel his cynnes latwu Du. Ri. 193(9).

Originally an adj., used in these cases substantivally. In Du. Ri., it must not be regarded as a translation of the L. lemma, only an explanation of it, an attempt at rendering its signification.

hycӡend-cpp., cp. above, p. 142.

forhycӡend, forhoӡiend 'despiser': *forhycӡan* 'to despise'; he wæs þearfena lufiend and his sylfes *forhoӡiend* — L. contemptor sui Greg. 329[13]; ðone *forhyceӡend* ura ӡoda — L. sacrilegum Bd I 334: Int R. Ben. 15[13].

oferhoӡiend = prec. word: *oferhoӡian* 'to despise'; his yldrena ӡeboda *oferhoӡiend* — L. contemptor R. Ben. 48[6].

The character of *for-* and *oferhoӡiend (-hycӡend)* differs from that of the poetical *hycӡende-cpp.* in the same way as did *on-*

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[1] See Cook. Glossary.

[2] Zupitza, ZfdA. XXI10, explains *wifarend < weӡfarend* by a reference to the common change of *iӡ > i* in this gloss-collection. Cp. also Bülbring § 505. In this case, however, the rule in point is not applicable; *weӡfarend* ought to appear as *weifarend* in Kent. Probably the first syllable has simply been miswritten on account of the L. word (viator) to be glossed.

[3] Cp. above pp. 95, 96, 102, 113, 117, 141 (note 2).

and *ymbsittend* from the poetical *sittende*-cpp., i. e. the first members are prepositions, and corresponding cp. verbs exist, from which they are formed directly. Cp., for instance, *wiðerhyczende* 'hostile, adversary' = *wiðer* + *hyczende*, not *wiðerhyc*- + -*ende* (but *forhyez- -ende*), in which latter case the word would have shown the form *wiðhyczend*: *wiðhyczan* 'to reject, despise', and would have meant 'despiser'.

wyrcend-cpp., cp. above, p. 143.

> **wyrcend,** see below, p. 147.

> > **efenwyrcend** 'co-operator': Adrianus abbud, se wæs *efen-wyrcend* on zodes worde ðære eadizan zemynde Theodorus — L. cooperator in verbo dei Theodori Bd V 2852.

> > **welwyrcende,** adjectival ptc., used substantivally, 'well-doing, well-doers'; eallum *welwyrcendum* Blickl. Hom. 137[14].

b. Prose word the corresponding simplex.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

drincende 'one who drinks': *drincende* wines Ru.[1] 11,19; þær bið *drincendra* dream se micla Wy. 79.[1]

β) Formations from anomalous and weak verbs.

āzend 'possessor', in poetry almost exclusively of God, for whom it is a common kenning, either standing alone or combined with *wuldres, līfes, sizores, swezles*; in prose, a law-term for the sense of which (sometimes 'Eigentümer', not 'Besitzer'), see LIEBERMANN 2: 1. Used of God in the following cases: Ex. 295; A. 210; 1715; 760; J. 223; Cr. 420; 471; 513; 543; 1198; Sat. 678; Kent. Hy. 3; Sch. 55. Used of earthly possessors: Gen. 1353; B. 3075; Abt. 82; Hl. 1, 3, 7, 16,3; Wi. 27; gloss. possessor Kent. gl. 543.

> Note the combination, *āzendfrēa* or *āzenfrēa* 'Eigentümer', in which last form a loss of the *d*, according to the sound-law given in BÜLBRING § 533, is certainly not to be assumed, cp. O. N. *eigumaðr* (: *eiga* 'Eigentum') and *eigandismaðr*, and M. H. G. *eigenherr*, Bayr. *aigenherr*: O. E. *āzen* 'Eigentum'.[2] The cited word occurs a

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[1] See above, pp. 116, 127.
[2] See MAX FÖRSTER, Arch. 116,370 footnote.

few times, e. g., Greg. 254³⁸ *(aȝenfrean); 258¹⁹ (aȝend-frea);* Gen. 2141; 2237 *(aȝenfrea).*

Cp. O. N. *eigandi*, pl. *eigendr*; cp. poetical *āȝende-* cpp., p. 138.

būend 'inhabitant', only once in poetry, viz., Gen. 89: *buendra* leas; a few times in prose: Ags. Chron. 3⁴;¹ be þam *buȝen-dum* his eardunȝstowe — L. de habitatore R. Ben. 4²²; Ælfc Hom. 122²⁰₁₅; chiefly in glosses: Lind., gloss. cultor, colonus 6×²; Du. Ri. 98(i); accola landleod *buȝend* Cl. gl. 343⁴³; 522¹¹; indigena *buȝintð* New Aldh. gl. 232; Hpt. gl. 458 b; gl. accola, habitator, colonus, indigena Nap. gl. 1,₂₂₃₀; 5,₁₇;³ 7,₂₉₂, 8,₂₂₀.

Cp. poetical *būend*-cpp. p. 139 ff. and cp. O. N. *búandi.*

wyrcend 'worker; creator'; also in poetry, see p. 143; deofol is yfel tihtend and leas *wyrcend* Ælfc Hom. I 102²; ȝod - - - *wyrcend* heofenan and eorðan II 596₈ (mæsse creda) = Nic. Symb. Angl. I 286: ȝod fæder almihti *wurchend* heouene and eorðe; unrotnysse þe is deaðes *wyrcend* Ags. Min. 11,₁₁₃ (Angl. XI 43); gl. operarius Lind. 6×²; gl. factor (operis) Du. Ri. 29,₃₀).

3. Glosswords.

a Formations from strong verbs.

berend-cpp., cp. above, pp. 133 f., 143.

berend 'bearer, carrier'; gestator *berend* Germ. 393,₁₄₉; gerula *berend* Cl. gl. 414¹⁶; 505²⁹; geruli *berend* 414²⁴; 527²⁵.

ǣwiscberend, properly 'shame- bearer', used of 'middle finger' impudicus *ǣwiscberend* midmesta finȝer Cl. gl. 264⁴². By Sw. and BT. regarded as an adj., 'shameful'. The word is, however, evidently a subst. created to render the L. designation in question, just like *hǣlettend,* etc. The middle finger had obtained that meaning "als dem männlichen Gliede ähnlich" (GEORGES)(?).

discberend, 'dish-bearer, waiter'; gloss. discifer Cl. gl. 387²¹; 503²¹; 527⁴.

sīðberend 'scythe-carrier, a mower'; falcarius, i falciferens uel falcifera *sīðberend* uel mæðre Harl. gl. 235³. — The

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¹ See above, p. 87.
² See COOK, Glossary.
³ "Colonus bu" (Ms.).

alternative gloss shows that a 'mower' is meant, but it shows, too, that *siðberend* was not a usual O. E. word, only a literal rendering of a L. word.

tācnberend 'standard-bearer'; gl. signifer Ælfc gr. 27[15].

taporberend 'acolyte'; gl. accolitus[1] Int. Cons. Mon. 759; 840.

wǣpenberend 'soldier'; gl. armatus Lind. Lk. I 7,5; 11,21.

wæterberend 'water-carrier'; lixarum coetibus, i. mercenario-rum qui aquam portant *wæterberendra*, marg. þran[ʒum] Hpt. gl. 427 a[14]; lixarum *wæterberendra* Nap. gl. 1,871.[2]

wæxberend 'acolyte'; cerarius *wex biorende* Du. Ri. 195[8]. [1]

wrōhtberend 'accuser'; excussor, accusator *wrohtberend* Harl. gl. 233[26]; cp. excussatio lad ladunʒ uel wroht ibid. 233[27].[3]

yfelberende, 'an evilspeaking person', perhaps only an adj.; nugegerulus *ybilberende* Nap. gl. 53,16.[4]

Hence we find that the *berend-cpp.* — with the exception of *lēohtberend*, which borders on a proper name — are either poeti-cal words or gloss-words. The latter quite bear the stamp of being occasional formations, as literal translations of L. words, which character we have, indeed, an opportunity of observing in most of them (*siðberend* etc.).

rǣdend-cpp., cp. above, p. 135 f.

ʒerǣdend 'disposer', cp. *rǣdend*; (operis esto) dispositor *ʒi-rǣdend* Du. Ri. 108[16].[5]

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[1] Duca. quotes Isidor: acolyti Græcæ, Latine ceroferarii dicuntur, a depor-tandis cereis, quando Evangelium legendum est aut sacrificium offerendum: tunc enim accenduntur luminaria ab eis et deportantur. Cp. also BT. *weax-berende*, and Gillivray §§ 171, 172.

[2] Cp. *lixe, lixiones* in Duca. Cp. *lixarum medwyrhtena* Nap. gl. 4,24 and Napier's foot-note ibid.

[3] *excussor* in Med. L. means 'parricida, homicida, latro', but the gloss 233[27] makes it clear that the glossator identifies *excussor* and *excusator*. Then, however, he is guilty of confusion when identifying *excussor* (= excu-sator) and *accusator* (233[26]), and when rendering *excussatio* (233[27]) with *wroht*, as well as with *lad, ladunʒ*. *Wrōhtberend*, of course, means 'accuser, one who brings an accusation'; it corresponds to L. *accusator*, but has nothing to do with L. *excusator*.

[4] *Nugigerulus*, turpis nuncius, mendaciorum nuncius (Duca). — "Nugige-rulus occurs glossed 'turpis nuntius' (cp. Loewe, Psodr. Corp. Glos. Lat p. 260), which explains the Engl. gloss" (Nap. foot-note to 53,16.)

[5] The editor puts a sign of interrogation after the O. E. gloss, to which Skeat remarks that only the ʒi- is indistinct, but that the rest is clear.

b Formations from weak verbs.

būend-cpp., cp. above pp. 139, 144.

> *inbūend* 'inhabitant'; colonus, i. incola, cultor, inquilinus bi-
> ʒenʒa tilia, *inbuend* Harl. gl. 210¹³; inhabitator *inbyend*
> Du. Ri. 104₄; cp. inbyeð inhabitat Lind. Mt. 23,₂₁. The
> word certainly never existed apart from glosses in which
> it is used to give a literal(!) translation of *in*habi-
> tator, *incola (habitator: buend = inhabitator: inbuend)*,
> cp. *in-, oneardiʒend,* see p. 162.

hæbbende-cpp., cp. above, pp. 142, 145.

> *heofonhæbbend* 'ruler of heaven, God'[1]; arcitenens heofon-
> hæbbend Cl. gl. 355²¹.
>
> > Concerning this word, Wʀ. W. makes (in a note ibid.)
> > the following remark: "Another example of the singu-
> > lar blunders made by those ags. glossators and of the
> > state of learning exhibited in the ordinary schools. Ar-
> > citenens, the archer, was most probably in the book
> > from which this word was taken, used as an epithet of
> > Apollo, but the writer of the gloss supposed it to be
> > formed from arx insted of arcus". The editor of the
> > gloss is quite wrong in this supposition. The gloss
> > doubtless refers to the same passage as a similar and
> > synonomous word, viz. *heofonwealdend,* see p. 180, and
> > thus goes back to Aldh. Ænigmata XIV v. 19² gloss.
> > *pater arcitenens.*[3] Hence we find that it is not the
> > O. E. glossator, as W. presumes, who has misinterpreted
> > his Latin, but Aldhelm, who does employ the L. word
> > arcitenens of the Christian God, in the sense of 'the
> > holder of heaven', cp. ibid. v. 12: Deus æthrali sum-
> > mus qui regnat in arce.

hycʒend(e)-cpp., cp. above pp. 142, 145.

> *fyrnhycʒend* 'harlot'; scortorum *fyrnhicʒedra* miltistrena, marg.
> *framhicʒendra* (Bouteʀwek: "r. *fyrnhicʒendra*") Hpt. gl.
> 484a₆; scortarum, i. meretricum *fyrnhicʒcendra* Nap. gl.
> 1,₃₃₂₇; 2,₁₉₂.

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[1] Not given in Sw. or Cl. H.; BT. enters *heofonhæbbende* citing Lye.

[2] Ed. Migne, Patres Latini LXXXIX 198.

[3] The Latin text runs as follows: omnia quæque polo sunt subter et axe
reguntur / dum pater arcitenens concessit, iure guberno. In the O. E. translation
given Rä. 41,₃₃—₃₅ this is simply expressed thus: eal ic under heofones hwearfte
recce / swa me leof fæder lærde at frymðe / þæt ic ða mid ryhte reccan moste.

NAPIER[1] is no doubt right in explaining this (and some similar formations) as being due to popular etymology, there having existed originally a nom. ag. fem. in *-icʒe*, viz. *fyrenicʒe*, which was attracted by the verb *hycʒan* and its cpp. — *morðorhycʒende* etc. — so as to assume the form *fyrnhycʒe*. That form really exists; it is recorded Nap. gl. 1,2940, with the corresponding masc. *fyrnhycʒa*, recorded Germ. 389, but was soon altered into conformity with the other, more or less agential, derivatives from *hycʒan*, thus becoming the said *fyrnhycʒend*.

wuniʒende-cpp., cp. above, p. 142.

   wuniʒend (only gsg), 'inhabitant'; habitatoris (officium) *wuniʒendes* Int. R. Ben. 5[11].

wyrcend-cpp., cp. above, pp. 143, 146.

   winwyrcend, 'vine-dresser', gloss. vinitor Lind. Mt. 1 21[8].

B. Isolated compounds and Simple words.

1. Words occurring only in poetry.

a) Isolated compounds.[2]

α) Formations from strong verbs.

æftercwðeend (only gpl), 'post mortem laudantes' (Gr.-K.), 'posterity' (Sw.); þæt eorla ʒehwam æftercweðendra lof lifʒendra lastworda betst Seef. 72.

hearmcweðend 'calumniator', like the previous word : *cweðan* V 'to speak'; Par. Ps. 71,5.[3] — Perhaps the word is wrongly classified as poetical, since it occurs also as a gloss of calumniatorem in some of the Ps. glosses ibid.. in which case, however, it never exhibits substantival form (*hearmcweðendne* Jun. Ps. 71,4; þone earmcweðendan Ar. Ps. ibid.).[4]

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[1] Nap. gl. 1,2940 foot-note.

[2] Only as far as poetry is concerned do I retain a distinction between isolated compounds and simple words, the isolated cpp. often being, in poetry, on a par, morphologically and semologically, with the words of the above-discussed cpp.-groups.

[3] See above p. 86.

[4] V. I's. has *hearmcweodendra*, gpl. as if *ʒecadmodan* governed the gen. case. The glossator has evidently mistaken *calumniatorem* for *calumniatorum*.

wiðerfeohtend 'adversary' : *wiðfeohtan* III 'to fight against, oppose';
ȝað fromlice þæt ȝe *wiðerfeohtend* wiȝes ȝehnæȝan (used
by the devil of Andrew) A. 1183; J. 664.[1]

Cp. prose *wiðfeohtend*, which is the form to be expected.
The form of the preposition will be due to such commoner
ag.-n. as *wiðerbreca, -saca, -winna, -weard*.

lyftflēoȝende (only gpl.), 'flyers in the air', kenning for 'birds' :
flēoȝan 'to fly'; ȝrundbuendra, *lyftfleoȝendra*, laȝuswemmendra
ðria ðreoteno þusendȝerimes Sal. 289.[2]

Cp. O. N. *fliúgendr*.

frumsprecend 'prince, leader, lord'[3] : *sprecan* V 'to speak'; driht-
en - - sæȝde þam þe *frumsprecend* folces wæron eallum
swylce — L. populorum suorum et *principum* eorum, Par.
Ps. 86,₅. The word is thus found to be used as equivalent
to L. princeps, in the Ps. gl. glossed by *aldor, aldormann* etc.,
and will, accordingly, mean 'prince, lord'; cp. Sw. *ordförande*,
G. *Wortführer* 'president in a deliberating assembly, *speaker*'.

laȝuswimmende (only gpl), 'swimmers in the sea'; kenning for
'fish'; Sal. 289 (see above *lyftflēoȝende*).

waldend-cpp., not occurring as a group in O. E. : *wealdan* redupl.
vb, 'to rule'.

wealdend, see p. 159.

oferwealdend 'supreme Lord', kenning for (name of) God :
þa þe ricesða ealles *oferwealdend* earme beþeahte E.
1235.

β) Formations from weak verbs.

mōdblissiende (only gpl), 'rejoicing people' : *blissian* 'to rejoice'; meniȝ-
feald þusend *modblissiendra* Par. Ps. 67,₁₇.

ȝōddōnd 'benefactor' : *dōn* 'to do'; næs þa ȝoddoend se ðe ȝod
wiste ne an furðum ealra wære Par. Ps. 52,₂; onȝitað hira
ȝoddend, nales - - feoȝað frynd hiera E. 359.

æfyllende (only gpl), 'fulfillers of the law' : *fyllan* 'to fulfil'; seo circe
æfyllendra (ecclesia Christiana) Cr. II 704.

mæðelhēȝende 'attenders of a council' : *hēȝan* 'to perform, achieve' A.
609; 1096[4]; hwæt se manna wæs *meðelheȝendra* þe he þær on
waroðe wiðþinȝode A. 262; þonne moniȝe beoð *mæðelherȝendra*

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[1] See above, p. 86.
[2] Cp. *fleȝendo* volatilia Du. Ri. 118₇,₄; 147, and some other passages.
[3] Not given in any dictionary.
[4] See above. p. 95.

wlonce wiʒsmiðas winburʒum in Mod. 13., where *mæðelherʒendra* should undoubtedly be read, as by Grein, as *mæðelheʒendra.*

In A. 262 it may possibly be interpreted in another way, and the other passages, too, are a little uncertain.

oƒerhelmend 'prevaricator': *oƒerhelmian* 'to cover, overshadow' ic *oƒerhylmend* ealle ʒetealde þa on eorðan her yfele wæron Par. Ps. 118,119.

hettend-cpp., not occurring as a group in O. E.: *hatian* 'to hate'. formed in pre-English times, when the verb was still an *e*-verb, cp. Goth. *hatan*, O. H. G. *hazzên.*[1] As poetical word only pl.; one prose-record exists for the simplex and that is sg.[2]

> **hettend** 'enemy': B. 1828; 3004; Ex. 209; Gen. 2011; 2110;[3]
>> wið *hettendra* hildewoman wearde healden J. 663; E. 18; 119; A. 31; Æðelst. 10; Ph. 441; Sal. 172.[4]
>
> **ealdhettende** 'enemies of old'; Jud. 321.[5]
>
> Cp. O. N. *hatendr,* O. S. *hatand, hettend.*

moldhrērende (only gpl), 'beings moving on earth': *hrēran* 'to move. stir'; nis þæt mannes ʒemet *moldhrerendra* Sch. 27.

ǣlǣrende (only gpl.), 'teachers of the law': *lǣran* 'to teach'; cp. *ǣ-lārēow* a Pharisee: him næniʒ wæs *ælǣrendra* oðer betera (Paulus) E. 506. As simplex is used the word *lārēow,* but since *ǣ-lāreow* had assumed the particular sense of a 'Pharisee', another formation had to be introduced in this passage. Cp. also *lǣrend,* p. 167.

tūdortēond(e?) (only gpl), 'producers of progeny': *tēon* 'to make. create'; fæder and modor *tuddorteondra* Ex. 372; cp. Gen. 959, in which case it is used as an attributive adj.

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[1] Cp. SIEVERS, Ags. Gr. § 416; Anm. 10.

[2] *Hettend* doubtless may be regarded as a poetical word. in spite of this prose-record, as it is so usual in poetry and only occurs once in prose. The idea is, in fact, so often expressed by different words in O. E. literature that if *hettend* had really been a prose-word, it would be met with in more passages than one (where, moreover, it is only a Ms. variant).

[3] *hettendra herʒa þrymmas,* where *hettendra* may be interpreted as an attr. adj. or as a sb.

[4] See above, p. 92 f.

[5] See above, p. 95.

b) Simple words.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

scēotend, 'shooters', kenning for 'warriors' : scēotan II 'to shoot';
    B. 703; 1154; sceotendra fyll Gen. 2062; 2143; Ex. 112;
    þone ȝarȝetrum ofer scildhreadan sceotend sendað Cr. 675;
    Jud. 305; Metr. 1 11;[1] possibly B. 1026 : no he ðere feohȝyfte
    for sceotendum scamiȝan ðorfte (ms. seotenum, read as sceo-
    tendum by Kemble and Thorpe, for metrical reasons).

scieþþend (only gpl), 'enemies' : scieþþan 'to hurt'; he hine scilde
    wið sceþþendra eȝlum onfenȝum earmra ȝesta Guþl. A. 375;
    þa us ȝescildað wið sceþþendra eȝlum earhfarum Cr. 761;
    once, through misunderstanding, in Du. Ri. 113₁.[2]

β) Formations from weak verbs.

bētend 'restorer, restaurator' : bētan 'to restore'; brosnade burȝ-
    steall: betend crunȝon herȝas to hrusan Ruine 29.[3]

brinȝend 'one who brings' : brinȝan 'to bring forth'; se wæs æ
    brinȝend, lara lædend (used of Christ) Cr. 140.[4]

byrȝend 'burier, interrer' : byrȝan 'to bury'; nahton byrȝendas Par.
    Ps. 78,3 — L. non erat qui sepeliret.

dēmend 'judge' : dēman 'to judge'; metod his ne cuðon, dæda de-
    mend B. 181; ȝod sceal on heofenum dæda demend Cott.
    gn. 36.

drǣfend 'hunter' : drǣfan 'to drive, drive out'; thus the sense of
    the subst. is perhaps somewhat specialized in relation to
    that of the verb; sum bið on huntoðe hreðeadiȝra deora drǣ-
    fend Cræ. 37.

feormend 1) 'entertainer, supporter' : feormian 'to supply with food,
    sustain'; ah he feormendra lyt lifȝendra Wy. 30. 2) 'fur-
    bisher, polisher' : feormian 'to furbish, polish, cleanse': B.
    2256;[5] cp. fyrnmanna fatu feormendlease B. 2761.

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[1] See above, p. 86.

[2] Cp. above, p. 129.

[3] Sweet translates 'builder?' Lexicographers in general are uncertain as
to the meaning of the word; the sense given above, however, — and also by
Gr.-K. — seems to me to be unquestionably correct; cp. the sense of the verb
in Cr. 13 : þæt se cræftȝa ȝebete, nu ȝebrosnad is, hus under hrofe.

[4] Not given as sb. in any dictionary, though its substantival character is
quite evident in this instance. æ is gsg (see Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 269, Anm. 3).

[5] See above, p. 87.

feriend 'bringer, leader, one who conveys' : *ferian* 'to carry, convey': swilce he is - - flodes *feriʒend*, folces neriʒend Sal. 80.

ʒēocend 'helper, rescuer', kenning for 'God' : *ʒēocian* 'to help, preserve'; ʒæsta ʒeocend Guþl. 1106; A. 548; 901; E. 682; 1076; Cr. 1 198; onʒytan þone ʒeocend þe us eall ʒood syleð Az. 88.

lædend 'excuser' : *lædan* 'to excuse',[1] cp. *lādian* 'to excuse', *belādiend* 'excuser' (see p. 186); ic *lædend* wæs laðra firena Par. Ps. 140,5.

myndʒiend 'one who reminds one, reminder' : *myndʒian* 'to remind, recall'; þæs morðorhetes *myndʒiend* wære B. 1105.

neriend 'Saviour', chiefly poetical word, but as a few prose-records exist, the word is given and discussed among prose-words, see p. 164.

settend 'ordainer, appointer', kenning for 'God' : *settan* 'to establish': siʒora *settend* Dan. 333; siʒerof *settend* Az. 47.

þeccend 'protector' : *þeccan* 'to cover (protect)'; þu eart *þeccend* min Par. Ps. 70,5; on ʒod drihten, ʒeorne *þeccend* 70,2.

wēmend[2] 'announcer' : *wēman* 'to announce, persuade, entice': up ahof rihtes *wemend* þara roda twa (of Jude) E. 879.

Then we meet with some pr. ptcc. used as quite occasional subst., sometimes nom. ag., though the appellative character is very slightly developed, sometimes semologically resembling or being nom. virt. They will scarcely allow of an interpretation as real substantives and will best be given with participial form (cp. above Excursus, p. 128 f.). Such are:

byrnende : *byrnan* 'to burn'; *byrnendra* scole Cr. III 1252.

cwāniende : *cwānian* 'to lament'; þeodeʒsa bið hlud ʒehyred - - *cwaniendra* cirm Cr. II 836.

drīemende : *drīeman* 'to rejoice'; þæt him ʒefylʒan ne mæʒ *drymendra* ʒedryht Ph. 348.

fēoʒend(e?) 'enemies' : *fēoʒan* 'to hate'; swa he alysde lifes ealdor of heora feonda fæcnum handum and of *feoʒendra* folmum swylce and heora feondas flod adrencte Par. Ps. 105,10.

It is interesting to observe how the idea of 'enemy' is consistently expressed by formations from verbs meaning 'to hate' (cp. *hettend*). In this case, when the pres. ptc. of the verb *fēoʒan* is used as an occasional subst., it is a repetition

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[1] Cp. *lædend* : *lædan* 'to lead'.
[2] Not given in any dictionary.

of the same procedure thas has already once taken place in
pre-English times and resulted in O. E. *fēond*.

fricჳende : *fricჳan* 'to ask'; næs þa *fricჳendra* under ჳoldhoman
ჳad in burჳum feorran ჳeferedra E. 991.

ჳnornende : *ჳnornian* 'to grieve'; ჳeonჳe for ðe *ჳnornendra* care
þara þe Par. Ps. 78,11.

wincende : *wincian* 'to blink'; lamena he is læce, leoht *wincendra*
Sal. 77.

Note. The form of the ending is generally -*end* in the poet-
ical formations, also in words formed from verbs of weak class 2.
That circumstance is, of course, bound up with the geographical
facts to be borne in mind when considering the poems, i. e. with the
non-West-Saxon character of O. E. poetry (cp. SIEVERS, Ags. Gr.
§ 412, anm. 11).

2. Words occurring in poetry and glosses.

a. Formations from strong verbs.

healdend 'guardian, ruler' : *healdan* 'to hold: possess; govern;
guard, preserve'; used of *God* : folces hyrde and *healdend*
Gen. 2315; se halჳa *healdend* and wealdend A. 225; of *King:*
from þam *healdende* þe me hrinჳas ჳeaf Rä. 21,23; Jud. 290
(of Holofernes)[1]; of *Adam:* neorxnawanჳes hyrde and *heald-
end* Gen. 172; of *Abraham:* ჳewat him þa se *healdend* ham
siðian Gen. 2161. Common in Northu. as gloss-word for
L. *custos* 'guardian': Lind. 6×[2]; Du. Ri. 63 VIII; 84,(7); for
L. *conservator* ibid. 98[7]; 111(3); 145,4.

Cp. O. N. *haldandi*, the sense of which is, however, some-
what different (: *halda* 'to hold'), often corresponding to O. E.
berend 'one who holds'.

metend 'measurer' : *metan* V 'to measure (out)', of God, but with
retained sense of 'measurer, one who measures out'; him þæs
lean aჳeaf nalles hneawlice þurh his hand *metend* Gen. 1809;
in glosses: Ormista middanჳeardes *metend* Cl. gl. 393[28], an

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[1] Cp. Prosa-Gußl. 100,4. Alfwold Eastenჳla kyninჳ, mid rihte and mid
ჳerisenum rice *healdend* — L. rite regimina regenti, in which case the ptc.
is used in a similar sense (note the uninflected form.).

[2] See COOK, Glossary.

endeavour to translate the *Hormesta mundi*, common name
of the Historia of Paulus Orosius.[1]

Cp. O. N. *metendr* (Skjaldesprog)

rīdend 'rider' : *rīdan* I 'to ride'; *ridend* swefað B. 2457[2], perhaps
referring to 'the rider of the gallows, der gehenkte'.[3] In the
glosses, however, the word is used in the meaning of 'rider,
eques': *ridende* oððe ridda eques Ælfc gr. 51[15]; cum equestri
mid *ridendum* Nap. gl. 1,4718 = Hpt. gl. 515 b₂; 2,380; 7,331;
New Aldh. gl. 258 b.

sciepþend, 'enemy', see above, p. 153 and footnote, p. 129.

b.   Formations from weak verbs.

lǣdend 'bringer' : *lǣdan*, 'to lead, convey, bring'; se wæs æ bring-
end, lara *lǣdend* Cr. I 141; legislatorem æs *lǣdend* Reg.
Eadv. Ps. 9,21; æ *lǣdend* Ar. Ps. ib.

ʒescieldend 'protector' (only of God) : *ʒescieldan* 'to protect' (cp.
scieldend p. 171); þu eart *ʒesceyldend* wið sceaðan wæpnum
eallum þinum A. 1291; VPS. 19×[4]; V. Hy. 2×; Reg. Ps. 15×;
Reg. Hy. 6[38]; Eadw. Ps. 8,3; 30,3,5; 32,20; 27,8; 143,2; Ar.
Ps. 13×.

spyriend 'investigator, enquirer' : *spyrian* 'to enquire'; ʒodes *spyrʒ-
endes* 'an enquirer after God' Sal. 140; investigator *speriend*
Kent. gl. 384.

stihtend 'disposer, ruler' : *stihtan* 'to dispose, arrange, rule'; hu he
þec ʒeþyde þystra *stihtend* on clænra ʒemanʒ J. 419[5]; *stih-
tend* protector Reg. Ar. Ps. 58,12 (the gloss not exactly cor-
responding to the lemma in this case).

trymmend 'strengthener; party to an agreement' (Sw.) : *trymman*
'to strengthen'; þu me ʒod wære ʒeara *trymmend* Par. Ps.
70,3. — L. firmamentum meum; stipulatorem *trymmend* Cl.
gl. 514[24]; Nap. gl. 7,383; 8,396.

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[1] Wülcker, foot-note ibid. See also Duca., Hormesta.

[2] Grein emendates to *swefeð*.

[3] Klæber, Anglia 28,446. Cp. þæt his byre ride ʒionʒ on ʒalʒan B. 2445.
Cp. also Bugge, Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter und Helden-
sagen p. 424.

[4] See Grimm, Glossary (Angl. Forsch. 18).

[5] I wonder whether we have not here, too, the sense of 'ruler' ('the ruler
of darkness'), and not that of 'Anstifter, Lenker', as Simons gives it in his
glossary.

3. Prose-words.

a. Words with wholly substantival character.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

bebēodend 'master, preceptor', translates L. præceptor : *bebēodan* 'to command'; ðin eaʒan weorðað ʒesionde ðinne *bebiodend* Past. 405[25]; hælend *bebeodend* ʒemiltsa us WS. Gosp. Lk. 17,13; (eala) bebeodend! Lk. 5,5; 9,33,49; 21,7. Note also *bebeodendes* (stefne) iubentis (vocem) Int. R. Ben. 24[2].

biddend 'petitioner' : *biddan* 'to ask'; petitor *biddend* Scint. 32[3]; hit þam *biddendum* and ðam onsecʒende. — L. petentibus Conf. Ecgb. 166[6]; he mihte *biddendum* sellan — L. petentibus Greg. 179[18]; 157[17].

oncnāwend[1] 'one who knows, understands' : *oncnāwan* 'to know, perceive'; ac þu diʒla *oncnawend* — L. sed tu domine occultorum cognitor Ags. Min., Angl. 11,119, 65.

feohtend 'fighter'; Ælfc Hom. I 48[6];[2] bellicosus gladiator *feohtend* Nap. gl. 1,3805; Hpt gl. 495 b,13.

wiðfeohtend 'adversary' : ðone *wiðfeohtend* - - ura ʒoda Bd 21,334 — L. rebellem: to fultome þæm *wiðfeohtende* Past. 279[1].

ʒiefend 'giver' : willa þæs uplican *ʒyfendes* — L. superni largitoris Bd IV 4310; drihten þe is ealra ʒereorda *ʒifend* R. Ben. 69[11]; frugalis, largus, *ʒifend* Harl. gl. 244[7]; largitor *ʒefend* Du. Ri. 99[8] = 145,3; 108[5] (cp. dator *sellend*): manʒeres naman þar ʒenam ma þonne *ʒifendes* Apoll. Tyr. 23[21] — Cp. *sellend*.

Cp. O. N. *gefendr*, *andgefandi*, *endrgefendr*, *liðgefendr*, *viðrgefendr*, poetical words (Eg.)

helpend 'helper', often of 'God': *helpend* ʒæsta Rä. 49,5; hæleða *helpend* Dan. 403; J. 157; *helpendra* leas Cr. III 1414; [helpendra pað Ex. 487[3]]; Vat. Uns. I 7; Cott. Ps. 50,113; Par. Ps. 70,10; 88,36; hiora *helpend* wæs on hiora sare Bd III 926; Lind. J. 5,7; Du. Ri. 19(5) — L. auxiliator: 45,(5); 46,(4); 52,

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[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] See above, p. 117.

[3] Should probably be emendated.

VII — L. adjutor; ealra sawla *helpend* Blickl. Hom. 105[19];
Ben. Off. 56[9]; Wulfst. 251[11]; 257[4].[1]

Cp. O. N. *hjalpandi.*

dælnimend 'participator, one who takes part'; 'participle' (in gram-
mar): evidently formed as a literal transl. of L. particeps
which word it glosses or translates: found only once in
poetry, viz. Par. Ps. 118,63: Ps. gl. ib.; Greg. 232[8]; 233[10];
Blickl. Hom. 11[2]; 191[25];[3] Ælfc Hom. I 36[4]; 606[5]; II 230[10];
336[11]; 422[14]; L. S. 33,55; 36,354; Ælfc gr. 9[18]; 135[17]; 233[10];
242[11, 15] (participium ys *dælnimend.* he nymð anne dæl of
naman and oðerne of worde 9[18])[2]; 61[11]; 112[1]; 136[5]; 152[8];
Ags. Min. IX 86 (Angl. XI); Scint. 5,5; Sermo St. Mar. 171;
Nap. gl. 1,1902: consortes, i. participes *dælnimendras.*[3]

rōwend 'rower'; in poetry used for 'sailor', as apposition of *sæli-
dan* A. 473: næfre ic sælidan selran mette - - *rowend* rofran;
Past. 445[11]; Greg. 306[3];[4] pro navigantibus ſe *roendum* Du.
Ri. 176[12]: naucleri *rowendes* Nap. gl. 2,6; 6,7.

Thus, even in prose the sense of the word seems sometimes
to be a little generalized, e. g , Du. Ri. As for the glosses
(Nap. gl.), the word *nauclerus* should certainly be rendered,
as usual, by *nōwend,* but this word is evidently beginning to
get obsolete; however, the glossator has had the word in his
mind and lights upon the similarly sounding *rōwend,* with
related sense. Cp. *nowend* p. 80.

scyppend 'Creator', 'God', extremely common in poetry and prose
during the whole O. E. period.

Cp. O.H.G. *sceffant, scephant,* str. m., and *sceffanto,* weak
m., *scephentâ* 'Schicksalsgöttin'.

ʒescyppend = prec. word: *ʒescyppan;*[5] Blickl. Hom. 11[29].

midsp(r)ecend[6] 'one who speaks on behalf of another, an advocate'
(corresponding verb not recorded): þu þe wære weriʒend
and *midspecend* þan hælende Ev. Nic. 592[6].

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[1] See above, p. 87.

[2] With weak adjectival flexion: ealle þa *dælnimendan.* ðe ʒetacniað and-
wearde tide Ælfc gr. 243[1].

[3] See above, p. 93.

[4] See above, p. 89.

[5] The simple *scyppan* is never used in Blickl. Hom., only *ʒescyppan.*
Scyppend, however, occurs 19 × and *ʒescyppend* once.

[6] Not given in the dictionaries.

onsp(r)ecend 'accuser, plaintiff': *specan on* (**onspecan* not recorded),
cp. *onspræc* 'suit involving a claim, an accusation', *onspeca;*
ða onȝon Hiȝa him specan on mid oðran *onspecendan.*
Chart. Th. 169,₂₂ (BT.)

forestæppend 'predecessor': *forestæppan* 'to precede, go before'; and
se þe *forestæppend* ys beo he swylce he þen sy — L. præ-
cessor WS. Gosp. Lk. 22,₂₆; antecessor forȝencȝa *forstæp* Nap.
gl. 1,₆₁₉.

stiȝend 'sty, small tumour on the edge of the eye-lid': *stioan* 'to
(a)rise'; ordeolus *stiȝend* Ælfc Voc. 114¹⁰.[1]

    Cp. *sprinȝ* 'pustule': *sprinȝan.*

    Cp. N. E. dial. *stine, sty-an-eye* and other forms (WRIGHT).

swelȝend, 'devourer, glutton', to be distinguished from *swelȝend*
'gulf, whirlpool'; in the sense of 'devourer' it is a later inde-
pendent formation of the same verb, translating devorator
WS. Gosp. Lk. 7,₃₄; ær se *swelȝend* to rice fenȝ, Alexander his
sunu Or. 120¹⁶.

    Cp. *swelȝere!* Cp. *forswelȝend* p. 180.

beswicend 'impostor, deceiver', chiefly gloss-word: impostorem
bisuicend Ep. 545; *bisuicend* Erf. ibid.; *bisuuicend* Co. I 217;
biswicend Cl. gl. 422¹⁷; only once found in prose: eala þu
sæ Neptune - - - and unscæðꝺiȝra *beswicend* Ap. Tyr. 24⁹.[2]

teond 'accuser': *teon* I (< **tihan*) 'to accuse'. Occurs only in
the Laws: ȝif hwelc mon - - and hine mon *betyhð*, þæt - -,
þonne ah se *teond* ane swinȝellan æt him Ine 48; V As 3,₁
Ld; III Eg 7,₁; I Atr. 1,₅; 1,₇; III Atr. 6; II Cn. 25,₁; 30,₃
b; 30,₆; Blas 2 H (Ms. B *se þe tyhð*).

wealdend 'ruler': *wealdan* 'to rule, govern'; is exceedingly common
throughout the O. E. period in poetry and prose, especially
in poetry. The following figures will be illustrative of its
frequency: B. 9 ×, Gen. A. 38 ×, Dan. 9 ×, Ex. 3 ×, Cross
5 ×, E. 18 ×, J. 5 ×, Cr. 29 ×, A. 15 ×, Sat. 15 ×, Hö. 1 ×,
Wand. 1 ×, Exet. gn. 1 ×, Cræ. 1 ×, Ph. 2 ×, Gen. B 18 ×,
Metr. 13 ×, By. 1 ×, Jud. 2 ×, Men. 5 ×, Par. Ps. 28 ×,
Dom. 2 ×; Laws 6 ×, Sol. 1 ×, Boeth. 6 ×, Or. 1 ×, Past.
4×, Charters 4 ×, Blickl. Hom. 3 ×, Ælfc Hom. 28 ×. L. S.
12 ×, Wulfst. 9 ×, Hpt and Nap. gl 1 ×.

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[1] Ordeolum est pustula in palpebris proprie nascens ab ordeo ob simili-
tudinem nominata (Du Ca. VI 57).

[2] Cp. *se beswicenda* oðꝺe fræcness gl. pellax Cl. gl. 516¹¹.

Used with fem. article: þes and þeos *waldend* hic et hæc præsul Ælfc gr 39[12].

In poetry, the word is almost exclusively used of God. Of earthly rulers, we find it employed in the following cases (and perhaps in a few more):[1] Rä. 21,4; 24,6; Gen. 2139; 2634; Cr. 714; Wand. 78; Edg. A 1, Eadw. 6; 8.

In prose, we find *wealdend* used of earthly rulers more often. Thus, for instance, VI Atr. 42,2; X Pro; Wif 6; Rect. 115[24]; 119[24]; 121[3]; Boeth. 13[21]; 32[11]; 35[30]; 64[22]; Cart. Sax. II 333[3] (A. D. 926); Blickl. Hom. 239[9]; 243[18]; Progn. 162,[3]; Hpt gl 428 a[15]; Nap. gl. 1,913; Prose-Guþl. 100 prol. 1; gloss. præsul Ælfc gr. 39[12]. Yet it is more usual there, too, of God. though sometimes with its sense of ruler clearly retained and felt (not a mere variant of God), e. g. Sol. 61[14]; Past. 121[3]; 207[13]; Canons Edg. 262 V; Polity 304 I; Blickl. Hom. 133[30]. Simply as a name for God, finally, it is to be found in sermons and prayers and religious literature in general (often in the vocative case), a use which is almost the only one in Ælfc and Wulfst.

In poetry, a few combinations with *wealdend* for a first member are sometimes met with, especially *wealdend ʒod*. Whether this is to be regarded as a cp., or as a combination of a looser description, it is difficult to decide — with the appearance of a cp. it occurs at least in Par. Ps. 56.2 and 67,16, where the dsg. *wealdendʒode* exhibits only one inflexional element. The combination in question is rather usual, e. g., E. 4; Gen. B 462; 520; 551; Par. Ps. 55,4; 67,15, 21; 99,2; Men. 46; cp. *allwaldend ʒod* Bo. 31, *wealdend drihten* Par. Ps. 56,16; 73,10; 77,65 etc. and *wealdend Crist* Dom. 52. — Cp. O. S. *waldand god*, O.H.G. *waltant got*. Somebody has explained this expression in O. E. as being due to O. S. influence, for which opinion may be advanced, in fact, the circumstance that it occurs chiefly in late O. E. poetry and is so frequent in Gen. B. But in view of its occurrence even at an earlier date — Cynewulf — I think it is preferable to regard it as an independent O. E. formation, from the same source as in O. S. and O.H.G., viz., L. *dominus deus* and other combinations of the kind.

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[1] Cp. RANKIN VIII 401.

Cp. O. N. *alls-*, *hers-*, *cigs-*, *yfirvaldandi*, Goth. *-valdands*, O. S. *waldand*, O. H. G. *waltant*.

wrecend 'avenger': þætte *wrecend* þa ჳyt lifde æfter laðum B. 1256; se uplica *wrecend* (of God) Eadw. Tod, Chron. 129[17]; hwæt hwa oðrum onþon to wo ჳedo - - ჳod his bið *wrecend* Eccl. Inst. 432[12].

β) Formations from weak verbs.

āhniend 'possessor': *ahnian* (*aჳnian*): ჳod se ðe ys *ahniend* eorðan and heofenan Genes. 14,22: usurpans (gl. possidens) *ahniend* Hpt gl 523 a[5].[1]

Cp. *āჳnere*. In the (early and Kentish) laws we find only *āჳend*, which does not occur in the later O. E.; or it may be that this word is stylistically restricted to poetry and legal language.

āriend 'pitier, benefactor': *ārian* 'to be gracious, to pity, to have mercy': heo wæs wudewena and steopcilda *ariჳend* Mildred 430[2]; Wulfst. 257[5].[2]

bodiend 1) 'preacher, teacher' 2) 'announcer'[3] : *bodian*, 'to announce: to prophesy: to preach' (of religious or moral teaching): he wæs ჳeworden *bodiend* and lareow þæs soðan ჳeleafan — L. predicator Greg. 239[23]; prædicator *bodiend* Kent. gl. 1157: Scint 124[9]: præceptorem *bodiend* Kent. gl. 132:[4] Paulus wæs ærest ehtere and syððan he wæs *bodiჳend* and acoren lareow Assm. 149,148: gerulus. i. portitor *bodiend* hannend Nap gl. I,56 = gerulus, *bodiend*, bajulator, portitor Hpt gl 407 a[12]; prophetantium *bodiendra* witedoma, bodie Nap. gl. I,1524[5] (= Hpt. gl. 442 a[17]).

In the texts, consequently, 'preacher' is the only meaning of the word.

costiჳend 'tempter', (of the devil) : se *costiჳend* þa eode to him Blickl. Hom. 27[6]; 27[22]; 33[19].

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[1] Perhaps verbal.

[2] Cp. above, p. 87.

[3] So also BT. The sense of 'announcer' is not given by Sw. and Cl. H.

[4] This instance clearly gives the sense of 'teacher'. Cp. Sweet's *bodiend* 'preacher', *bodere* 'teacher'. Cp. also præceptum *bebod* Reg. Ps. 2[6].

[5] Napier, ib., suggests the reading, *witedomas*, in which case *bodiendra* becomes a verb.

costniend = prec. word; and þa ӡenealæhte se *costniend* and cwæð
WS. Gosp. Mt. 4,3.

cwielmend 'tormentor, killer': *cwielman*, 'to torment, kill'; he on-
ӡann clypian and cwedan þæt he sylfa were *cwylmend* þæs
mannes — L. se interfectorem illius clamare Greg. 89[5]; þurh
menifealde witu slat and cwylmde - - - to þam þæt se his
cwylmend his ӡelyfde — L. a torquente 163[10] H.

dǣlend 'divider, distributor': hwa sette me deman oððe *dælend* ofer
inc — L. divisorem WS. Gosp. Lk. 12,14; Lind. ib.

unrihtdōnd 'evildoer' (or perhaps verbal) : *unriht dondum* Blickl.
Hom. 63[13] (see *unrihthǣmend* p. 166).

ēhtend 'persecutor; pursuer, assailant': lustum dreaӡ - - - *ehtendra*
nið Guðl. 496; Par. Ps. 34,3 (= Ben. off. 67,17); 80,13; 88,20, 35;
108,30; 118,84; 121; 150;[1] þara ælces *ehtend* wolde beon, swa swa
his feondes, þe Or. 190[24]; Nero wæs monna ærest *ehtend* cristenra
monna 262[5]; 264[7] C (Ms. L. *hetend*); 264[27]; *oehtendum* per-
secutoribus. Lind. Mk. 10,30; Progn. Cock. III 174,7; *oehtende*
Du. Ri. 64(3); ӡebiddan for slaӡum and for *ehtendum* — L.
interfectoribus et persecutoribus Scint. 35,2.[2]

eardiend 'dweller, inhabitant'; Par. Ps. 74,3;[3] eorðan - - þara *ear-
dendra*, þe hire on lifdon 106,33; *eardiӡend* habitatorem VPs.
Hy. 3,4; Reg. Ar. Hy. 2,11; Ar. Hy. 4,15; Greg. 192[3];[3] se un-
clæna *eardiend* eode of ðære ilcan stowe — L. immundus
habitator 236[8]; *eardiӡendum* habitatoribus Scint. 82[2].

ineardiend = prec. word, translates L. inhabitator, and so also

oneardiend, in another Ms. : þæs ylcan temples *ineardiend* (on ~)
Greg. 63[12]. Formed, of course, in imitation of the L., to be
a literal translation, cp. above *inbūend* p. 149.

frēfrend, frēfriend 'comforter, consoler': *frēfran, frēfrian*; þæt
word þara *frefrendra* — L. consolantium Bd V 495; in other
passages, this word generally translates paracletus : Blickl.
Hom. 131[23]; 105[17]; 135[23] : 'frofre ӡast' þæs wordes andӡit is
swa mon cweðe þinӡere oððe *frefrend*; WS. Gosp. J. 14,16; 15,26;
16,7; se is ӡehaten Paraclitus þæt is *Frefriend* Ælfc Hom. I

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[1] See above, p. 89.

[2] Greg. 109[14] : ӡeseah þæt hi ealle anmodlice wæron *his ēhtende* — L.
omnes se persequentes cernest, shows the verbal form; *ēhtan* also governs the
gen., e. g. Or. 274[4].

[3] See above, p. 87.

550₅: 560₁: 562₁₈: Wulfst. 257⁵;¹ 251⁹; Mildr. 430²; mon-cynnes ʒefea, meðra *frefrend* Ph. 422; Par. Ps. 68,₂₁; 134,₁₄.

Frēfrend occurs in prose only in Bd and Blickl., in poetry in Ph., alternatively in Par. Ps.:² in the later O. E. prose texts *frēfriend*.

fultumiend 'helper, supporter', transl. L. adjutor and similar words:³ Ep. Erf. 95, Co. A 201, Cl. gl. 350³⁰, gl. adsensore;⁴ Co. F 365, Cl. gl. 404¹⁹, frutina *fultemend*; Eadw. Ps. 15×; Ar. Ps. 51,₉: 69,₆: Past. 115²⁵: 377³; Greg. 243¹³;⁵ 111⁸; me wæs *fultumiend* and lareow Albinus Bd 2,₃₀; his ʒefera wæs and *fultumiend* þæs ʒodcundan wordes — L. cooperator verbi III ₃₃₃₂: IV ₁₁₄; sum casere - - wæs cristenra manna *fultumiʒend* Ælfc Hom. II ₃₀₄⁴; fautor *fultumend* Cl. gl. 530³⁵; Wulfst. 240¹³; Alc. Virt. Angl. XI, 374,₇₄: Disc. Sacr. Cr. 3⁷: Hpt gl 495 b₁₀, Nap gl. 1,₃₈₀₇.

fylʒend 'follower, observer': þara þinʒa þe he oðre lærde to donne he sylfa wæs se wilsumesta *fylʒend* and læstend — L. exe-cutor Bd V 3084: (maneʒa synd mæʒena hiw, þa) *fylʒendrum* (hyra syllað ricu heofena) — L. quæ sectatoribus suis tribuunt regna celorum Scint. 100₆.⁶

æfterfylʒend 'successor', twice = 'follower' transl. L. sequax: wæs he Bonefatius *æfterfylʒend* þæs biscopes Bd IV 1081; I 760; 2294; 2307; II 472: 1495: 1728: 537; 1858; III 1 0: 509; 1319; 3325; IV 1635: 2042: V 2: 747; 1325; 2251; 2901; 3267; Mart. 212¹²; Cart. Sax. II 560 p. 199¹² (A. D. 889); 636 p. 313¹⁸: 510 p. 122⁸; 636 p. 313²⁰; 636 p. 313¹¹; I 106 p. 154⁶; Or. 142¹¹; KCD 753 (A. D. 1035) IV 51₁₁: 1342 VI 203⁴ (A. D. 1061).

The sense of 'follower' is met with in Bd V 2203: deofles niðrunʒa and his *æfterfylʒendra* — L. diaboli et sequacium eius: Cons. Mon. 140: from haliʒum *æfterfyliʒendum* and efenlæcendum hys (= Benedicti) — a sanctis sequacibus et imitatoribus suis.

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¹ See p. 87; not nsg, as Dodd gives it in his glossary.

² In poetry generally -*end*, even of *ian-verbs*. Cp. p. 155 Note.

³ Note that L. *adjutor* is very often, and even generally, rendered in O.E. by the abstract word '*fultum*'.

⁴ in its in Med. L. technical meaning (see Duca).

⁵ See above, p. 90.

⁶ Cp. Hpt. gl. 452 b² : sequipedas, i. secutores, ministros, dras, marg. æfterʒencʒum ł efenlæceras, where *dras* is read *fylʒendras* by the editor.

The sense of 'later living people, posterity' occurs, e. g., in Greg. 186[17]; 98[1] C; Bd IV 1179, but only with weak adjectival flexion '*þa æfterfylȝendan*'.

ȝylstend 'helper' gl. adjutor Eadw. Ps. 62[8]; Cons. Mon. 367; Ælfc Hom. I 48[7].[1]

ȝyrðriend 'supporter, promoter'; *ȝod simle is fultum and firðriend* Cart. Sax. II 389[17] (A. D. 932).

ȝiemend 'keeper, governor; observer': mid haldendum ꝉ *gemendum* cum custodibus Lind. Mt. I 22,7; ealra þæra tacna ðe þær *ȝelimpað* ic eom sceawere and *ȝymend* Ælfc. Hom. I 504[3]; be - - reccendrum oððe be *ȝymendum* — L. de - - rectoribus Scint. 116[2]; *ȝymend* — L. gubernator 117[7].

beȝiemend 'keeper, governor': þæs ælmihtiȝan scyppendes and *beȝymendes* eallra ȝesceapenra þinȝa Cons. Mon. 294; *beȝymend* gl. rector Scint. 122[1]; 123[8].

hælend 'Saviour': *hælan* 'to save, cure', formed as an equivalent of L. Salvator, but used also to translate Jesus and other designations for the second person of the Trinity. Cp. O. S. *Hēliand*, O. H. G. *Heilant*.

The word is exceedingly common during the whole O. E. period and does not dissappear until early M. E.[1] KLUGE, Et. Wb., maintains that '*heilant*' is a German designation of Jesus; in England, the word had never "auch in älterer Zeit so feste Verbreitung wie im Deutschen, dafür Ags. *nerȝend*, Goth. *nasjands*".

This opinion of KLUGE's is quite unfounded and decidedly wrong. In prose, the word *hælend* is so extremely common that an enumeration of the passages in which it occurs would fill pages. As for the respective frequency of the words *hælend* and *neriend*, the following figures will give a comparatively exact idea:

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[1] See above, p. 117. CL.H. puts .E (= .Elfc) after the word. Note, however, that it is recorded also in other passages, and that just those other records justify us in considering it as a clear sb.

[2] Last instance (N. E. D.) is from Ancr. Riwle A. D. 1225.

	Poetry			Prose	
	hǣlend	*neriend*		*hǣlend*	*neriend*
Rä.	1	—	Laws (LIEBER-		
Gen. A.	—	15	MANN)	+12	—
Dan.	—	3	VPs Hy.	4	—
Exet. gn.	—	1	Mart.	18	—
Cross.	1	—	Greg.	ab. 13	—
Guþl.	1	2	Blickl. Hom.	36	1
E.	6	8	Wulfst (DODD)	15	2
A.	5	5	Ru¹. (SCHULTE)	174	—
J.	1	1	Lind. (COOK)[1]	603	—
Cr.	6	6			
Sat.	17	1			
Hö.	4	—			
Gen. B.	—	1			
Lesser poems	7	7			
Metr.	—	1			
Par. Ps.	19	1			
Ph.	2	1			
Jü. Ger.	1	—			
Men.	—	5			
Jud.	—	3			
Sal.	—	2			
Total	71 (GR.-K 52)	63 (GR.-K. 56)			

It is thus evident not only that *hǣlend* is very common both in prose and poetry, but also that its frequency is greater than that of *neriend*, which last word may be said to be altogether restricted to poetry. And certainly *hǣlend* cannot be regarded, with BODE,[2] as a kenning, as long as a kenning is defined as 'eine seltene entlegene Bezeichung für etwas'.

Again, it is noteworthy that, in the poetical literature previous to Cynewulf (Gen. A., Dan.), the word *hǣlend* is scarcely to be found: we get almost exclusively *nerȝend*. So, originally, *nerȝend* seems to have been the commoner of the two, though it had to yield its place of precedence very early: the associations will have been easier in the case of

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[1] So also in the WS. Gosp., though I can give no figures.

[2] Kenningar, p. 84.

hǣlend, cp. especially *hāl, hǣlu*. Yet in poetry the older
word was often used, for stylistic purposes, even in late O.E.

unrihthǣmend (only dpl.), but cp. *hǣmend* 'adulterer': *unrihthǣman*
'to commit adultery'; þæt hi sceoldan symle þǣm unrihtdon-
dum mid ʒrimnesse steran, þeofum and manswarum and
unrihthǣmendum and þǣm mannum Blickl. Hom. 63[13].

hālsiʒend 'exorcist': *hālsiun* 'to exorcise': exorcista is *halsiʒend* se
ðe ræt ofer ða witseocan men and þa untruman Ælfc Past.
Ep. 378[6]; exorcista þæt ure hatað halsiʒend þa þe behyt
deoflum þæt hi of ʒedrehtum mannum faran L. S. 31.[141].[1]

heriend[2] 'praiser': *herian* (Goth. *hasjan*) 'to praise'; *heriʒendrum*
laudatoribus Scint. 205[6]; cp. þonne ne derað nan lyffetunʒ
ðam *heriʒendum*, ne nan upahæfednys ne costnað ðone ʒe-
heredan Ælfc Hom. II 560[17].

ʒehīerend 'hearer' he ʒeseah þa *his ʒehyrend* þone eastordæʒ onfon
— L. suos auditores Bd V 3172; þa heortan þæs *ʒehirendes*
Past. 81[9]; in gpl. þara *ʒehyrendra* transl. L. audientium se-
veral times. e. g., Past. 93[20]; Greg. 33[32]; cp. also such ex-
pressions as dpl. eallum *ʒehyreudum* — L. omnibus audien-
tibus, e. g. R. Ben. 38[16].

Cp. Goth. *hausjands*.

hierwend 'blasphemer': led ut ðone *hirwend* wið utan þa wicstowe
— L. blasphemum Levit. 24,[14].[3]

hlystend 'listener': *hlystan* 'to listen': asprinʒað clæne ʒedohtas on
mode ðæra *hlystendra* Ælfc Hom I 362[18]; *hlystendra* audi-
torum Scint. 119[9]; *hlystend* auditor Scint. 126[1]; auditoribu-
hlystendum auscultatoribus Hpt. gl. 461 a[16] = Nap. gl. 1.[2331].

tohlystend (only dpl.), but cp. *hlystend, ʒeleafhlystend*, 'listener':
hlystan; on þara *tohlystendra* heortan Past. 97[8]; unnytte þǣm
tohlystendum 97[18].

onhyrʒend 'imitator, emulator': *onhyrian* 'to imitate': his þeowa
and his þæs clǣnan lifes *onherʒend* beon nolde — L. imita-

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[1] Sw. also gives the sense of 'soothsayer', for which, however, I have
found no record.

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] BOUTERWEK reads *herwiendras* in Hpt. gl. 506 a[5]: contem(p)tores *dres:*
NAPIER gives no interpretation of *dras* Nap. gl. 1.[4278]: the word meant is cer-
tainly *forsawendras* or *hyrwendras;* cp. contemptibilem, i. despectibilem *for-
sawenlicne* Nap. gl. 1.[470; 935]; contemtibilibus, i. despicientibus *forsawendrum*
1.[5438]; contemtibilis *hyrwendlic* 1.[5501] = Hpt. gl. 529 b[1]: contemtrix *forsæuestre*
Nap. gl. 1.[1480].

tores suos in virtutibus Greg. 23² C, O (Ms. H. efenlæcendras his mæȝena, cp. below); Cl. gl. 395²⁶; 508²³ (see p. 88); zelotypus andiȝ, ellenwod carful, *onhyriend*, emhydi Nap. gl. 1,₃₆₄; Hpt. gl. 414 b₃; 415 a¹: so probably also æmulatores, i. æquiparatores *dras* Hpt. gl. 506 a₇ and Nap. gl. 1,₄₂₇₇.

(ȝe)efenlǣcend 'imitator': (ȝe)efenlǣcan 'to imitate'; Libertinus - - - hæfde ænie *efenlecændras* his mæȝena Greg. 23¹ H (cp. above onhyrȝend); fram haliȝum æfterfyliȝendrum and ȝeefenlǣcendrum hys (= Benedicti) — L. a sanctis sequacibus et imitatoribus suis Int. Cons. Mon. 140; ðæra apostola and heora *efenlæcendra* Ælfc. Hom I 396¹⁸; *efenlæcend* imitator Scint. 13¹¹.

lǣnend 'lender, creditor': lǣnan 'to lend; lease'; tweȝen ȝafolȝyldon wæron sumum *lænende* — L. cuidam feneratori WS. Gosp. Lk. 7,₄₁: fenerator vel commodator uel creditor, redditor *lænend* vel strude Harl. gl. 237,₄₀.

lǣrend¹ 'teacher': lǣran 'to teach': ȝe ðone læwend (Jude) ȝe ðone *lærend* (devil) Assm. Ælfc 154,₇₁. ²
    Cp. O.S. *lêriand* (Hel.).

lǣstend 'doer, executor': lareow - - ðara ðinȝa ðe he oðre kerde to donne, he sylfa wæs se wilsumesta fylȝend and *læstend* — L. executor devotissimus Bd V 3085.

lǣwend 'betrayer, traitor'; Assm. Ælfc 154,₇₀ (see above *lærend*): wiste he drihten ana, hwa his *læwend* and myrðra wæs 162,₂₃₅; proditor *læwend* Kent. gl. 1156; *læwend* Suppl. Ælfc voc 168¹⁸; Cl. gl. 471⁵; seductor *læfend* Suppl. Ælfc voc. 168¹⁷. ³

belǣwend = prec. word: belǣwan 'to betray'; Cristes *belæwend* BCS I 106 p. 156⁵; sy he Iudas ȝefera Cristes *belæwendes* KCD 715 III 350¹⁷ (A. D. 1006); Iudas Cristes *belæwend* Disc. Sacr. Cross 15⁶.

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¹ Not given in any dictionary.

² Evidently a new-formation in this passage (cp. the usual *lārēow*), suggested by the preceding *læwend*, and used to avoid the ambiguity of the denominational *lārēow*.

³ It is not very likely that two different words are meant Suppl. Ælfc voc. 168¹⁷ and 168¹⁸ by seductor *læfend* and proditor *læwend*, and not rather the latter in both cases. If really *læfend* should be meant to belong to *lǣfan* 'to leave', it must mean 'one who abandons' and thus 'misleads'; but at any rate, in that case, the glossing is not literal.

ēdlēaniend 'requiter, remunerator'; se ordfruma sylf and *edlēaniend*
        þæs ecan lifes — L. auctor et retributor vitæ Greg. 286[6]:
        remuneratore, i. largitore *edleani* Napl. gl. 1,[2549] (= edleaniend,
        Nap.); Hpt. gl. 490 b[10]: cp. *leaniend* p. 186.

līesend 'deliverer, redeemer' (of God): *lysend* ealles mancynnes
        Disc. Sacr. Cross 17[2]: *lesend* redemptor Du. Ri. 20(15); 30(9):
        33(2).

        Commoner, however, is its cp.

ālīesend with the same meaning, transl. L. redemptor, liberator:
        Par. Ps. 69,7; 77,34; 143,2. V. Reg. Jun. Eadw. Ar. Ps. 18,15:
        69,6 (exc. Jun.); 77,35 (exc. Eadw.); 39,18 (exc. V. Ar.); 17,3,48
        (exc. V.); Reg. Ar. 143,2; Cact. Sax. I 106 p. 154[11]: se *alīe-
        send* monna cynnes Past. 129[17]; ure *alysend* 135[10]: 261[4]:
        301[5, 12]: 385[13]: Bd IV 953 O: 1375: Greg. 60[8, 21]; 91[22]: 117[2]:
        249[6]: 256[11]: 295[23]: 333[2]: Blickl. Hom. 65[30]: 87[9]: ealles mid-
        deneardes *alysend*, Prayer Arch. 84,[328][1]; Ælfc Hom. I 94[7]:
        136[16]: 238[10]: 294[14]: 308[5, 12]: 352,; 532[11]: 556[9]: 572[15]; 608[10]:
        II 8[15]: 16[12]: 110[9]: 262[4]: 266[3]: 418[8]: 456[15]: 478[10]: L. S. 14,39:
        23 B,[608]: Ælfc de test. 13[14]: Hiob XV (19[25]): Disc. Sacr.
        Cross 7[17]: Wulfst. 142[22]: 193[27]: III Quadr. 26[11]: Ags. Min.
        IX 59 (Angl. XI 114,[59]): Scint. 128[6]: 140[3]: 148[5].

        The word. which stands much on a par with *hælend*,
        though it is less common, occurs, as has been seen, through-
        out the O. E. period in prose literature and in Par. Ps. In
        M. E. it is only recorded twice, according to STRATMANN. the
        last time in Jul. (ab. 1300).

        On a few occasions, the word is met with in the form of
onlīesend[1]: *onlīesan* 'to relieve, deliver'; Jun. Ps. 17,3: 69,6: 143,2:
        Ags. Min. X Angl. 12, 500[5].

lufiʒend 'lover. friend' (cp. *frēond*, and cp. *fēond* and *hatiʒend*):
        Cart. Sax. I 106 p. 154[1]: Boeth. 62[27]: 73[20] (see p. 88): 70[14]:
        73[16]: he wæs þearfena *lufiend* — L. cultor pauperum Greg.
        329[13] (cp. biʒenʒa þearfena Bd): Ælfc Hom. II 392[9] (see p.
        88): Criste se ðe is clænnysse *lufiʒend* L. S. IV 42: and-
        wyrde Agnes þan cnihte : ʒewit þu from me - - ic hæbbe
        oðerne *lufiend* (viz. God) L. S. 7,[27]: amans dei is nama þæt
        is amator dei ʒodes *lufiʒend* Ælfc gr. 255[9]; 255[10]: Progn.

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[1] Not given in the dictionaries in this form.

162[16]; Du. Ri. 102[9]; 104[3]: lare lufiʒend Apoll. Tyr. 28[15]: lu-
fiʒendum amatoribus Scint. 62[1]; 14[3] (see p. 88).

maniend 'admonisher: claimer, collector'; þæs *maniendes* stefne
Past. 407[13]; sæde þæt he wære hetiʒlice ʒeswenced fram his
maniende fore XII scyllinʒum — L. a creditore suo Greg.
157[32]; 158[19] (see p. 117); St. Matheus - - wæs ærest the-
loniarius þæt is ʒafoles *moniend* and wicʒerefa Mart. 172[22].

ʒemet(iʒ)end[1] 'ruler, governor': *ʒemetiʒan* 'restrain, control, govern';
þu eart min ʒod - - and min sceapen, and min ʒemet-
ʒyend, and min tohopa Sol. 11[6] (without an equivalent in
the L. original).

mildsiend 'pitier, one who is merciful', chiefly in Ps. gl., glossing
L. miserator: V. Eadw. Jun. Ps. 85,[15]; 102,[8]; 111,[4]; 110,[4];
V. Reg. Eadw. Ar. 144,[8]; Reg. Ar. 102,[8]; 144,[8]; Ar. 110,[4]; 111,[4];
Ar. Hy. 6,[43]; *milsend* miserator Du. Ri. 69[3]; 170(40); se arfæsta
miltsiʒend Ælfc Hom. II 420[17].

ʒemildsiend = prec. word: Reg. Ps. 85,[15]; 110,[4]; 111,[4]; Ar. Ps.
85,[15]; earmra *ʒemiltsiʒend* Apoll. Tyr. 28[15].

mundiend 'protector': *mundian* 'to protect': þæt he min fullafreod
and *mundiend* beo (previously *forespeca*) Cart. Sax. III 603[22]
(A. D. 972).

neriend 'Saviour': *nerian* 'to save, protect': as for poetical records
see Gr.-K. (cp. figures given in the statistical table of the
use of hǣlend and nerʒend, above p. 165: in prose, we meet
with the word only a few times: ealles middanʒeardes Hæl-
end and ealra ʒasta *Nerʒend* Blickl. Hom. 105[18] = Wufst. 251[10];
ʒodes sunu is hælend and *nerʒend* ealles mancynnes Disc.
Sacr. Cross 13[8]: in all the quoted passages, consequently, as
a variant of *hǣlend*. In Wulfst. 302[29], the word is used,
not of Christ, but of the Church: cyrice bið ure scyld and
neriend on domes dæʒ wið ðæt micele fyr. — Cp. further,
above, p. 164 f.

Cp. Goth. *nasjands*, O. S. *neriand*.

ednīwiend 'renewer, restorer': *ednīwian* 'to renew, restore': scypp-
end and *edniwiend* mennisces cynnes Ags. Min. Angl. 11,[115][2]
— L. reparator.

bepǣcend 'deceiver', gl. deceptor Suppl. Ælfc Voc. 168[16]: seductor
and deceptor Ælfc gl. 319[12]: deofol is - - sawla *bepæcend*
Ælfc Hom. I 102[2]: deofol, þisses folces *bepæcend* 496[13]: ille-

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[1] Not given in the dictionaries.

cebroso, i. illicita *bepæcendræ*, marg. illecebrosus *bepæcend*
vel forspennend Hpt gl. 481 a₇.[1]

raciend[2] 'explainer. expounder, preacher' : *racian* in a sense not
recorded[3], but cp. next word, and cp. *reccan* 'to explain.
expound; direct, rule', *racu* 'narrative: explanation: account':
se soðsaʒola *raciend* and dema Greg. 265[12].

rihtraciend 'expounder of righteousness' 'right preacher', cp. prec.
word (: *riht* + *racian*); þæt se ure *rihtraciend* wæs sprecende
in þissere bufan cwedenan bec (= Salomon) Greg. 266[7]:
267[11, 18]; seo Salomones boc - - seo is ʒenemned Ecclesias-
tes — seo boc is aʒendlice on englisc *rihtraciend* ʒehaten —
L. concionator Greg. 264[27]: þurh rædinʒe þæs *rihtraciendes*
265[5].

rēafiʒend, 'spoiler, plunderer' : KCD 715 III 350₁₂ (A. D. 1006).[4]

berēafiʒend = prec. word: þu sæ Neptune, manna *bereafiʒend*
Apoll. Tyr. 24[8].

reccend 'ruler' : *reccan* 'to direct; govern: guide: explain: narrate.
tell; reckon'. Chiefly of *God:* rice is se *reccend* and on ryht
cyninʒ ealra anwalda Rä. 41,₃: Eala! þu *reccend* and þu riht
cyninʒ Cr. 18; Dan. 580; ealra ʒesceafta sceppend and *reccend*
Metr. 4,₃₀: þeoda *reccend* Par. Ps. 101,₁ = Ben. off. 70[28]:
ʒod is eallra þinʒa *reccend* Boeth. 101[4]; Or. 58[22]: Blickl. Hom.
185[27]: Wulfst. 255[18]: of earthly *Kings* : Her Eadʒar ʒefor
Anʒla *reccent* Westseaxena wine and Myrcene mundbora Chron.
975, Edʒar: swylene *reccend* and cyninʒ habban — L. talem
habere rectorem Bd III 1648: Ælfc Hom. II 320[2]: of *heads*
of monasteries : heom ʒesette ʒewisse prafostas and *reccendas*
Greg. 119[21] cp. hæfde þone recenddom and hlaforddom þæs
mynstres ib. 20[21]: *gl.* rector : *reccendrum* Scint. 116[2]: *rec-*
cendes 122₂; cp. rectores *dras* iudices Hpt gl. 424 b[20]. where
Bout. reads *reccendras*.

With weak adjectival flexion: mid þæs *reccendun* spræce
R. Ben. 138[8].

rētend 'comforter' : *rētan* 'to comfort': Wulfst. 257[4].[5]

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[1] The substantival ptc. of *bepæcan* was evidently commoner than the
adjectival, and so came to be used as a gl. of a L. adj.

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] *racian* 'rule, direct; go. betake onself to' (Sw.).

[4] See above, p. 88.

[5] See above, p. 87.

rihtend 'ruler' : *rihtan* 'direct; restore; rule, govern'; rodera *riht-end* Cr. 798; eala þu ælmihtiʒa scippend and *rihtend* eallra ʒesceafta Boeth. 10[16]; sum wer - - þæs nama wæs Advocatus, se wæs sema and *rihtend* maniʒra manna Greg. 297[7].[1] In the last instance, the word should perhaps be interpreted as 'restorer (to their rights), corrector'.

oferscēawiʒend 'overseer, superintendent' : *oferscēawiʒan* 'to superintend'; his nama is ʒecweden episcopus þæt is *oferscēawi-ʒend* on englisc Ælfc Past. Ep. 378[7].

scieldend 'protector' (only of God): min þu mære eart mihtiʒ scyldend Par. Ps. 143,3; 83,9; 113,20; Reg. Hy. 4[2]; Eadw. Ps. 10×; Eadw. Hy. 4[2]; 6[38]; Blickl. Hom. 141[14]; Du. Ri. 15,(12); 98[3]; 76(3); Ar. Ps. 5×; Abbo gl. Cler. Zup. 503 (eala þu *scildend*).

> *Scieldend*, as well as its synonym *ʒeseieldend* (cp. above, p. 156), glosses protector, sometimes defensor. Both are, as has been seen, almost restricted to the Ps. gl., where they are very common.

forscrencend 'supplanter, oppressor' : *forscrencan* 'to supplant, oppress': Jacob is ʒecweden *forserencend* Ælfc Hom. I 198[15]; 586[11] [12], [11].

secʒend 'speaker, relater, narrator': næniʒ tweoʒende *secʒend* me ðis sæde — L. dubius relator Bd III 1749; þam *secʒendum* Past. 237[10]; Assm. Ælfc 31,178; in the last cases simply the ptc. used substantivally.

> Cp. O. N. *segjendr*.

onsecʒend[2] 'sacrificer' : *onsecʒan* 'to offer, sacrifice'; oððe hit þam biddendum and þam *onsecʒende* þære onsæʒdnysse fremode — L. vel petentibus aut sacrificatori sacrificii proficiebat Conf. Ecʒb. 166[6].

sellend 'giver', transl. L. largitor, dator; often of God: siʒora *sellend* J. 668; 705; Pa. 64; se is ordfruma and *syllend* eallra eadiʒnesse Bd IV 4677; Ælfc Hom. II 328[1]; Du. Ri. 99[7] = 145[4]; 103(2); 111(3); ʒod lufað ðone ʒlædan *syllend* Ælfc Hom. II 212[9]; Scint. 108[6]; farað to ðam *syllendum* and bicʒað eow ele (= 'sellers') Ælfc Hom. 570[14, 20]; sacerdos on Leden 'sac-

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[1] *Sema* and *rihtend* correspond to L. *advocatus*, which has, wrongly, been interpreted as a proper name by the translator.

[2] Not given in the dictionaries.

rum dans' and on urum ʒeþeode haliʒ *syllend* Pœnit. Eczb.
202₁₅: gl. traditor (WS. Gosp. læwa) Lind. Mk. 1 5¹⁰; 14,₄₄;
Lk. 22,₂₁.

ǣsellend 'law-giver, legislator' (of Moses) : se mæra *æsyllend* Moyses
Assm. Ælfc 24,₁₃.

sēmend 'arbitrator, umpire' : *sēman* 'to bring to an agreement:
settle'; ʒesecæn hiom *sæmend* ('sollen sie sich einen Schieds-
richter aufsuchen) Hl. 10; hy ealle ʒemænum handum on
anum wæpne ðam *semende* syllan Wer 4.

smēaʒend[1] 'penetrator, scrutinizer, investigator' : *smē(aʒ)an* to scru-
tinize, investigate'; þu drihten Crist þe ealle diʒle þinʒ wast
þu þe eart modes *smeaʒend* and manna heortan L. S. 12,₁₉₃.

speliend, properly 'substitute, representative', but only in the con-
nection *naman speliʒend* = 'pronoun': Ælfc gr. 8²: pronomen
is þæs *naman speljend* (se spelað ðone naman þæt þu ne
ðurfe tuwa hine nemnan)); 92⁴,¹³: 94² (see p. 96): 94⁶: 116⁶(2 ×);
127¹⁵: with weak adjectival flexion: dirivativa pronomina
þæt synd ofʒanʒenlice naman *speliʒendan* 109⁴: 233⁹.

edstaðeliend 'restorer': *edstaðelian* 'to restore': of Christ: Crist - -
is þin *edstaðeliʒend* L. S. 5,₂₀₁.

ʒeedstaðeliend = prec. word: eala þu ʒod scyppend and *ʒeedsta-
ðeliend* ealles manncynnes Ags. Min. IX 3 Angl. 11,₁₁₂.

stīerend 'governor, ruler (of God): corrector': *stīeran* 'to guide,
govern: reprove', he is on riht cyning staðolfæst *styrend* in
stowa ʒehwam A. 121; 1336; eallra ʒesceafta reccend and
styrend Wulfst. 255¹⁸;² corrector *styrend* increpator³ Harl.
gl. 213²⁵.

swefniʒend 'dreamer': *swefnian* 'to appear in a dream: to dream':
her ʒæd se *swefniʒend* — L. ecce somniator venit (of Joseph)
Genes. 37,₁₉.

oferswīðend[1] 'vanquisher': *oferswīðan* 'to overcome, surpass': and
deofles *oferswiðend* þurh ʒeþyld L. S. 30,₁₂₆.

tǣcend 'one who directs, gives a direction': *tǣcan* 'to direct, enjoin
teach': ʒif hwylcum breðer hwæt unacumenlices beboden sy
underfo he þa ʒeboda his *tæcendes* mid eallre ʒeðwærnesse —

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¹ Not given in any dictionary.
² The corresponding verb is, in Wulfst., only recorded in the sense of
'correct, rebuke, check' (DODD).
³ *increpator* 'reprover, blamer', 'Schelter, Tadler' (GEORGES).

L. jubentis imperium R. Ben. 128[11] (Int. R. Ben.: bebeo-
dendes bebod).

tẽlend 'detractor, slanderer', seldon æniʒ mann wile beon andetta
þæt he æfestiʒ sy oðde *tælend* Blickl. Hom. 65[1]; derisorem
telend Kent. gl. 289; cum detractoribus mid *telendum* Kent.
gl. 938; gl. contemptor, reprehensor Lind. Mt. I 2[17]; I 21[9];
Lk. I 6[12]; mid þan þeawe *tælendre* me hleahtrige — L. more
obtrectatoris succensueris Prose-Guðl. 101, prol. 22; ib., prol.
12; gl. derisor Scint 113[7]; 171[5, 4]; 205[6]; detrahentium *tælen-
dra* ib. 12[7].

The senses of the word are consequently: 1) 'detractor, slan-
derer' 2) 'derider, scoffer' 3) 'reprover'. Cp. *tælan* 'to blame,
calumniate; deride'.

tĩenend calumniator' ʒebiddað for eowerum ehterum and *tynen-
dum* Ælfc Hom II 36[16]; cp. ibid. 216[17]: ʒebiddað for eowe-
rum ehterum and *eow tynendum*, with verbal construction;
perhaps rather belonging to b).

tiliend 'provider':[1] *tilian* 'to strive after, attempt; obtain, provide;
support; cure': ʒod sy ʒebletsod sawla hælo *tiliend* Mar.
Ægypt. 102[31].

timbrend 'builder': *timbran, timbrian* 'to build, construct; edify':
St Hilda - - wæs seo æryste *timbrend* þæs mynstres Mart.
206[18]; se wæs timbrend and abbud þæs mynstres — L. con-
structor et abbas Bd IV 111f; Greg. 322[2].[2]

tỹdriend 'propagator, producer': *tỹdrian* 'to bring forth, breed':
þæt he wære moncynnes *tydriend* swa swa he wæs Or 36[13];
fecundus, i. copiosus, fructuosus ł habundans ł *tydriend*
Harl. gl. 238[22].[3]

tyhtend 'instigator, inciter': *tyhtan* 'to incite': chiefly gloss-word:
inlex *tyctænd* Ep. 509, *tychtend* Erf. ib.: incentor *tyhtend* Co.
1 363; allectio *tyhtend* Cl. gl. 354[36];[4] incentor wrehtend *tyhtend*
Cl. gl. 420[29]; incentor *tyhtend* Cl. gl. 504[24]; 527[21]; *tihtend*
Nap. gl. 1,380[6]; *tyhtend* 2,254; deofol is yfel *tihtend* Ælfc Hom.
1 102[1].

weriend 'defender, protector': *werʒendra* to lyt þronʒ ymbe þeoden

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[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] See above, p. 87.

[3] The substantival form used, as it is so often, to gloss an adj.

[4] Certainly an abstract word *tyhtend* should not be assumed on account
of this record: the gloss is simply incorrect (careless rendering of the lemma).

B. 2882;[1] Gen. 1971; Ex. 588;[2] Saul wæs ʒecoren ærest
to cyninʒe, forðan ðe hiʒ woldon sumne *weriend* habban,
þe hi ʒeheolde wið þæt hæðene folc Ælfc de test. 6[13]: ne
ondræd þu þe, Abram! Ic eom þin *werʒend* Genes. 15,1;
cyrean - - bið ure friðiend and *werʒend* Wulfst. 239[7]: heora
byð eft *weriʒend* — L. iterum habebit eum ultorem Ale.
Virt. Angl. XI 385,336: þu(= Nicod) ðe wære *weriʒend* and
midspecend þan hælende Ev. Nic. 592[6].

Cp. O. N. *verjendr*, O. Frs. *werand* 'Gewährhrsmann', M.H.G.
warand, Med. L. *guarandus*.

beweriend = prec. word; Paulus wæs midspreca and *bewerizend*
þære ealdan æ Ælfc. Hom I 388,4; he sceal beon bewerʒend
wydewena and steopcilda XII Abus. 302,3.

āwestēnd 'destroyer. waster', þone awyrʒedan enʒel - - - þone men
awestend hatað Wulfst. 200[19].

āwierdend[3] 'destroyer': *āwierdan* 'to destroy, injure'; for he is
hælend and na *awerdend*. þa awerde þinʒ he ʒehælð and þa
ʒehale he ʒefæstneð on strencðe Sermo St. Mar. 70.

wierʒend 'curser, swearer; reviler'; Par. Ps. Eadw. Ps. 91,10; L.
S. 17,42.[4] In other passages where the word occurs sub-
stantively, it has weak adjectival inflexion, e. g., ne ða ðiofas ne
ða druncenwillan ne *ða wierʒendan* ʒodes rice ne ʒesittað
Past. 401[29]; Ælfc Hom. II 34,10; Ben. 17[3].

wissiend 1) 'director, guide' (of that which moves): cræt and his
wissiʒend, þæt is crætwisa — L. auriga L. S. 18,295; 2) 'di-
rector, ruler': seo wyln bið ðære hlæfdian *wissiʒend* L. S.
17,11: næfdon nanne cyninʒ — ʒod sylf wæs heora *wissiʒend*
Iudic. 253[17]; cyninʒ þæt is ʒecweden *wissiʒend* XII Abus 302,10;
gubernator, i. rector, *wissiend* Hpt. gl. 459 b[15]; gubernator
i. dispositor, *wissiend* Nap. gl. 1,2264.

wrēʒend 'accuser, announcer'; Bd V 2723;[4] he wilnað þæt he
mid þy ʒeweorðe ure *wreʒend* and wrohtbora beforan ðam
dome þæs ecan deman — L. accusator Greg. 221[13]; accussor
wreʒend Cl. gl. 353[32];[5] 480[24];[5] delatoribus *wreʒendum* Cl. gl.
389[41]; gl. accusator Scint. 29[4]; 39,7.

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[1] Ms. *ferʒendra*.

[2] See above, p. 87.

[3] Not given in any dictionary.

[4] See above, p. 90.

[5] In a foot-note W. proposes to read accusator, to which SIEVERS. Anglia
XIII, p. 334, remarks: "lies nicht mit der Note accusator, sondern *accusarent*
wreʒden, denn die Glosse gehört zu Matth. 12,10: ut accusarent eum".

b. Ptcc. occasionally used substantivally.[1]

α) Formations from strong verbs.

crēopende sb. pl. 'reptiles': *crēopan* 'to creep'; Genes. 1,26[2]; eall flæsc - - manna and fuʒela, nytena and *creopendra* Genes. 7,21. Cp. *þam slincendum* — L. reptili ibid. 6,7.

weʒfarende : *weʒ* + *faran*, used substantivally L. S. XXXI 992: beʒunnon to axienne æt oðrum *weʒfarendum*.

> Indeed, there exists a group of *farende-cpp.* in O. E. prose, though the forms recorded may belong to weak adjs. used substantivally. At any rate, all *farende-cpp.* must be regarded as original adjs. Besides the one given, we find *infarende*: þæt he ælmessan underfencʒe æt ðam *infarendum* L. S. 10,27; *scipfarende* : Aidan þam *scypfarendum* ðone storm towardne foresæʒde — L. nautis Bd III 1666.
>
> Cp. *þone widfarendan* Past. 315[14] and cp. *fērende-cpp.*

lēoʒende, 'lying': of *leoʒendra* muðe — L. ore mentientium Greg. 41[6].

ondrǣdende 'fearing, dreading': þa wuldorfæstlicnysse þe þu *ondrǣdendum* ʒyfest L. S. XXIII B 603.

sinʒende 'singing': he ʒehyrde *sinʒendra* stefne L. S. XXXI 1397; Chad 102 (see below *blissiende*): cp. þam stefnum þara *sinʒendra* — L. voces psallentium Greg. 282[13]; 285[28].

slǣpende 'sleeping': of scondlicum ʒeðohte ðæs wæccendan upcymeð seo bysmrunʒ *slæpendes* Bd I 2239 — L. vigilantis, dormientis; be ðam *slapendum* — L. de dormientibus Ælfc Hom. II 566₅.

unsprecende 'not speaking', used substantivally of 'child'; of *unsprecendra* muðe and sucendra L. S. XXXI 277 = Ps. 8,2 (cp. Ps. gl.). Formed, of course, as a literal translation of L. infantium.

ætstandende, ptc., (*ætstandend?* sb?) 'bystander; attendant'; cwæð to hire *ætstandendum* Ælfc Hom I 450₄; þone Hælend bodode eallum *ætstandendum* L. S. XXIX, 255.

> Cp. cwæð to þam *embstandendum* L. S. XXIII 275; XXIV 268; fram ðam ymbstandendum — L. a circumstantibus civibus Greg. 191[18]; cp. also verbal use as in *to him ymbstandendum cwæð* L. S. XXXI, 81.

sūcende, 'sucking', translating lactantium L. S. XXXI, 277 (=Ps. gl. 8,2); see above, under *unsprecende*.

wēpende 'weeping': earma retend and *wependra* frefriend Wulfst 257[5]; cp. þa tearas wurdon in wundrunʒe ʒecyrrede eallra þara *weopendra* þe þær ymbstodon — L. cunctorum plangentium Greg. 307[8].

β) Formations from weak verbs.

andettende 'confessor', only in the phrase *andettende beon;* Ags. Min. II 30 (Angl. XI)[3]; cp. Scint. 38₉, gloss. L. confitentes.

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[1] Words only recorded in the gpl. and dpl. with the definite article are not given here, since they may quite as well be the weak adjectival forms.

[2] See above, p. 84.

[3] Cp. above, p. 114.

dǣdbētǣnde 'penitent', very common as a weak adj. *se dǣdbetendu*, e. g., Alc. Virt. 368; Conf. Ecʒb. 170 XII; once without article : þæt heofenlice rice behæt soðlice *dǣdbetendum* æfter ʒyltum Ælfc Hom. II 84⁹.

blissiende 'rejoicing'; þa swetestan stefne sinʒendra and *blissendra* — L. cantantium atque lætantium Chad 103; Bd IV 485 ; 566.

clipiende 'exclaiming, calling'; stemn *clypiʒendes* on westene — L. vox clamantis WS. Gosp. Mt. 3,₃ = Ælfc Hom. I 360₅; *clipiendra* ʒehwylc wolde — L. omnis invocans cupit Sprüchw. ed. ROEDER. Reg. Ps. XII².

ʒeōmriʒende 'mourning, complaining': heo wæs *ʒeomriʒendra* frofor L. S. 33,₁₉₉.

behrēowsiʒende 'repenting' : *behreowsiʒendum* bið forʒifen, forseondum næfre Ælfc Hom. I 500₁₀.

[*hynʒriende* 'hungry' very common, e. g., hynʒriendum we sceolon syllan mete Eccl. Inst. 428 XXXII; translating *esurientes* or *famelicus* or some such word. The sense of the word is adjectival and cannot be regarded as agential.]

lifiʒende 'living' is very common as an adj. in substantival use. e. g., in *lifʒendra* londes wynne Cr. 437.

onlōciende 'onlooking', 'onlooker'; eallum *onlociʒendum* Ælfc Hom. I 440¹³; L. S. 22,₁₄₀; Assm. Ælfc 95,₉₈.

lyffetende 'flattering'; þæra *liffetendra* tunʒe — L. adulantium Greg. H. 34²⁷; *lyffetendra* tunʒan Ælfc Hom. I 494⁶. — On this verb see Hecht, Dial. Greg., Einleitung, p. 137. note.

nellende 'not willing' : butan *nellendes* andsware R. Ben. 20¹⁹.

lēasōleccende 'flattering' : *lēas* 'false' + *ōleccan* 'to soothe. caress. flatter, please'; seo tunʒe *þara leasolecendra* cweleð and swenceð þæs sawle Greg. 34²⁷ C. O.; cp. *liffetende*, and see the literature there referred to.

andswariʒende 'answering, responding' (in liturgy) (sb.?) : *andswariʒendum* — L. respondentibus Cons. Mon. 358,₃₆₁ (Angl. 13,₃₉₀).

tienend 'calumniator', given above under a) (p. 173).

[*þearfende* 'poor' has entirely passed over into an adj. and, as such. is very often used substantivally, generally with strong, sometimes with weak, adjectival flexion. In Lind. G. the form is *þorfend*.]

4. Words occurring only in glosses.

a. Formations from strong verbs.

bannend 'summoner' : *bannan* 'to summon'; gerulus. i. portitor bodiend *bannend* Nap. gl. 1,₅₆; contionatorum, i. rethorum, *bannendra*, maðeliendra, wordliendra 1,₂₃₂₁: 2,₇₄; Hpt gl. 460 b₇: contionator *bannend* Hpt gl. 528 a₁₇. Nap. gl. 1,₅₄₁₅: 2,₄₆₅.

foreceorfend 'front tooth' : *foreccorfan* (only Ælfc gr.) 'vorn ab-
schneiden, was vorn ist abschneiden'; gl. precissor Cl. gl.
264[11], of which it is a literal translation, just as the corres-
ponding verb is of præcidere.

ofercymmend 'conqueror, vanquisher', a substantival form, as is
shown by the article, used (wrongly) to gloss the verbal ptc.
superveniens : se *ofercymmend* Lind. Lk. 11,22.

onfanʒend 'receiver, acceptor': acceptor *onfanʒend* Scint. 184[6]. —
See next word.

ondfenʒend = prec. word; numerarii ʒafoles *andfendʒend* Cl. gl.
457[11] where the second *d* is, of course, due to a scribal
error; susceptor *andfenʒend* Ar. Ps 3,4; so also, accord. to
BT., Ps. Th. 41,10; 45,6,10; Ps. L. 17,3.

Zupitza[1] remarks that he does not know of any O. E. verb
fanʒan or *fonʒan*, side by side with *fōn*. Nor do I, but
the form *onfanʒend*, quoted above, points to the existence of
such a form *(onfanʒan)* with newly formed infinitive (< ptc.).
But what I fail to see, in this connection, is how, as Zupitza
assumes, the existence or lack of a form *fanʒan* can have
anything to do with the form *onfenʒend*, with *e* as vowel
of the stem-syllable.

As regards this form, two circumstances, I think, will
have to be taken into consideration. First, it is to be no-
ticed that nearly all other derivatives of this verb are formed
from the preterite stem, e. g., *onfenʒe*, adj. 'taken, accepted',
onfenʒness 'acceptance': the form *fenʒ*- thus became the bearer
of the common sense of the group. And further, there existed
another formation, viz., *ondfenʒ*, with the same meaning as
ondfenʒend, *onfōnd*, though originally a nomen actionis (see
Introduction, p. 31). This word being morphologically isola-
ted as a nom. ag., a blending was made between *andfenʒ*
and *anfōend*, the ending -*end* being thus used to form a
nom. ag. without, seemingly, a verb by its side. That this
formation starts from the sb. *andfenʒ* is made likely also by
the form of the prefix *(and-*, not *an-*, *on-)*. The form *and-
fend* occurring in Ar. Ps. 53,6 is probably a miswriting for
andfenʒend, scarcely for *anfoend*, in which case the prefix
would have been *an-*.

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[1] Arch. 86,405, in a foot-note to a paper by Lübke.

anfōnd = prec. word: *onfōn* 'to receive, take up under protection' gl.
susceptor Reg. Ps. 3,4 *(anfoend)*, 45,8; 12; 118,114; [translating
piscator: ʒyt beoð sawla *onfonde* WS. Gosp. Mk. 1,17; here,
however, verbal]; Ar. Ps. 45,12 *(anfoend)*; cp. 45,8 *andfenʒ*,
in both cases gl. susceptor.

   In Du. Ri. 193/5 occurs a gloss *under ondfoendo* for L.
susceptores. As *underfōn* and *onfōn* both exist, but not a
combination, *underonfōn*, I suggest to read this gloss: *under*-
vel *on-foendo*. A word *underfond* also glosses susceptor Ps.
L. 3,4; 53,6; 90,2. according to BT.

findend 'one who finds': repertor *findend* Germ. 391 a,9.

onfindend 'one who finds out': inventor *onfindend* vel ʒemetend
   Germ. 391 b,1.

ʒaldorʒalend 'enchanter'; marsi *ʒaldorʒalend* Cl. gl. 448[22]. As for
   other words rendering marsi, see Nap. gl., marsus (index).

ʒēotend 'artery': *ʒēotan* II 'to pour out, shed', anteriæ *ʒeotend* sine-
   wind Cl. gl. 362[25]. For anteriæ, read with ed. arteriæ.

beʒietend 'one who obtains, gets': conquirens, i. causans[1], meditans
   beʒetend Harl. gl. 214[26]. Perhaps an adj. is meant.

ʒrīpend, 'seizer, robber': raptor strudend oððe *ʒrīpend* Cl. gl. 516[13].

durehealdend 'doorkeeper': (ancilla) ostiaria (ðir ł sio þiʒnen) dure-
   haldend ł dureueard Lind. J. 18,17.

oferhlēapend 'overleaper, one who jumps over': *oferhlēapan*; transi-
   litor *oferhleapend* Ælfc voc. Suppl. 190[2].

dyrnliċʒend (only gpl.), 'fornicator'[2]: *dyrnliċʒan* 'to fornicate': me-
   charum *dyrnlicendra* Cl. gl. 441[32].

forliċʒend = prec. word: *forliċʒan*; mechus ʒewemmend and *forliċ*-
   ʒend Cl. gl. 447[20].

rǣdend 'interpreter, explainer, diviner': *rǣdan* 'to read (e. g. a riddle),
   explain': (wiʒleres and) rædendes. gl. (arioli et) coniectoris
   Scint. 75,8.

   Cp. rǣdend as a poetical word, see above, p. 135.

sciprōwend 'sailor': nauta *sciprowend* Cl. gl. 455[14].

sāwend 'sower' is wrongly used to gloss seminatur Scint. 72[10].
   which L. form is no noun, but a verb.[3]

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   [1] Causari in Med. L. often had the meaning of efficere (Du ca).

   [2] Not given as a sb. in any dictionary, but the lemma and the sb *for-
liċʒend* justify us in regarding it as a sb.

   [3] L.: fructus iustitiæ in pace seminatur facientibus pacem.

lēohtsāwend 'sower, bringer of light'; lucisator *lēoht sāwend* Germ.
   389 b,1.

[*forsāwend* 'despiser'; contemptibilibus, i. indoctis *forsawendrum*
   Hpt. gl. 528 b[13]; Nap. gl. 1,5438. The word is, as NAP. pre-
   sumes (note ibid.), a blending of *forseonde* and *forsawenlic*.]

tosceādend 'separator': *tosceādan* 'to divide, separate'. Gl. discretor,
   i. divisor Harl. gl. 223[30].

frumscieppend 'creator, originator' (of God); gl. auctor Du. Ri. 16(17):
   122[5].

rihtscrīfend 'lawyer': *riht* 'right; justice; law' + *scrīfan* 'to decree;
   impose (penance)': iurisconsultus, iurisperitus, i. e. *rihtscrī-
   fend*, sive domsettend Cl. gl. 429[6]; iurisconsultus 1 iurisperi-
   tus *rihtscrifendom* Ælfc voc. 115[30], which should be read
   rihtscrifend, domsettend.[1]

sīʒend 'wave': *sīʒan (sēon)* 1, 'to fall, descend; ooze'. BT's trans-
   lation 'a movement of the sea, wave' suggests an actional
   noun, which may not be quite impossible, though such an
   assumption seems unnecessary. In that case, fem. gender
   would be most likely, cp. *þēofend*. Occurs only in the pl.
   — flustris *siʒendum* Cl. gl. 399[15]; 490[5]; flustra, i. undæ *si-
   ʒend* Cl. gl. 403[37].[2]
      The word might have been given under 1 1, p. 131 f.

æftersinʒend 'succentor', gl. succentor Ælfc voc 129[23].[3]

foresinʒend 'precentor', gl. præcentor Ælfc voc 129[21].[3]

midsinʒend 'co-singer', gl. concentor Ælfc voc 120[25].[3]

āstīʒend 'rider', like the two following words translating ascensor,
   which in Med. L. generally means 'eques' (Du CA); (hors and)
   astiʒend — L. (equum et) ascensorem Reg. Hy. 4,1; 4,4;[4]
   Eadw. 4,1.

onstīʒend = prec. word; VPs. Hy. 5,2. Cp. p. 112.

ūpstīʒend = prec. word; VPs. Hy. 5,34; 5,6; Eadw. Hy. 4,4. Cp.
   p. 96.
      The corresponding cp. verb is only *āstīʒan*, but *on* has
   been substituted once by analogy; cp. also *upstiʒe*, nom ac-
   tionis. — These *stiʒend*-cpp., evidently, are merely gloss-

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[1] LÜBKE, Archiv 85,400.

[2] Flustrum = aqua uel unda crispans (Du CA).

[3] Cantorum duo sunt in arte musica genera, Præcentor scilicet et succentor.
Præcentor vocem præmittit in cantu; succentor canendo subsequenter respondet;
concentor vero qui consonat (Du CA). Cp. succentoria succentoris dignitas.

[4] Cp. above, p. 88.

words, coined in order to render the L. ascensor more lite-
rally than the common *ridda* or some similar word would
have done.

strūdend 'robber'; 'usurer'; raptor *strudend* oððe ʒripend Cl. gl.
516[13]: fenerator uel commodator uel creditor redditor læ-
nend uel *strūde* Harl. gl. 237[40]. BT. and Sw. both give this
record for the word *strūdend*, probably correctly, as *lænend*
precedes. Otherwise, the commoner form *strūdere* suggests
itself.

forswelʒend[1] 'swallower, Verschlingerin'; grassatix onhichiende vel
forswelʒend, devoratrix Hpt. gl. 458 a[2]; grassatrix, i. devora-
trix, *forswelʒend*, onhiʒiende Nap. gl. 1,[2209].[2] Cp. *onhīʒiende*
p. 184.

tredend 'one who treads, treader'; calcatrix *tredend* Harl. gl. 197[9].

heofonwealdend[1] 'ruler of heaven, God': arcitenens *heofonwealdend*
Nap. gl. 23,[10]. See, further, above, p. 149 *(heofonhæbbend)*.

winnend[1] 'wrestler, fighter': agonitheta *winnend* Abbo gl. Cler.
Zup. 35.[3]

oferwinnend 'conqueror, vanquisher'; expugnatore (urbium) *oferwin-
nendum* (burʒa) Scint. 8[6].[4]

wiðwinnend 'opponent, enemy'; refragatur *wiðwinnend*[5] Cl. gl. 507[19].
Cp. also *onwinnend*, which is only recorded with weak
adjectival flexion, but with clear substantival use: se wæs
ʒodes þeʒen þe þa swiðost feaht wið heora *onwinnendan* L.
S. 25,[687].

yrfewrītend 'testator', gl. testator Ælfc voc. 114[43]. Cp. yrfeʒewrit
'will, testament'. — Simplex *writend* does not occur as a
clear sb., but with weak adjectival flexion: þæt ʒewrit *þæs
writendan* — L. scribentis Greg. 9[18].

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[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] Devoratrix 'Verschlingerin'; grassatrix gl. bereafiʒende Nap. gl. 7,[138];
8,[114]; cp. grassante. i. deprædante. onhniʒendre; grassator = 1) Herumstreicher
2) Raufbold, Bandit (GEORGES). See source of gloss.

[3] In classical L. agonitheta, agonotheta means 'Kampfvorsteher, Kampf-
richter' (GEORGES), but in Med. L. it is often used for agonista 'bellator, pugil'
(DU CA): cp. also other O. E. glosses for it, as agonitheta *cempan* Nap. gl. 1,[1334];
agonithetis, i. principibus illius artis *wraclerum* 1,[3541]; 1,[221].

[4] Cp. above, p. 118.

[5] Read refragator (R. W.)

b. Formations from weak verbs.

bīecnend bēacniend 'indicator; forefinger', gl. l.. index: *bicniend* Reg. Ps. 72,14; *becniend* Eadw. 72,14; *becnend* Cl. gl. 264⁴⁰; *bycniend* Brussels gl. 291²³; *becnend* scytefinger Cl. gl. 423³⁹; used of persons, in the sense of 'indicator', *bicniȝend* Scint. 135₃¹¹. — With the same meaning also occurs

ȝebīecnend, also gl. index *ȝebecnend* VPs. 72,14; Jun Ps. ib.; *ȝebicniȝend* Scint. 214²; Germ. 393 a,51.

The different forms are regular for the different dialects; as for *bicniend*, it shows a blending between *bīecnan* 1, and *bēacnian*, 2, resulting in *bīecnian*. VPs. *ȝebecnend : bīecnan*, 1, but Eadw. *becniend : bēacnian;* the stem vowels of both verbs became identical in late Kentish.¹

borȝiend 'money-lender; usurer'. Gl. fenerator *borhȝiend* Reg. Ps. 108,11; *borȝiend* Ar. Ps. ib.; also Spl. and Lamb. Ps., according to BT. The word should be distinguished from *borhhand*.²

bycȝend 'buyer, purchaser'; emptor *beccen* Kent. gl. 738; cp. forms of *becȝan* ib. 895; 1140.

endebyrdend 'arranger, one who orders' : *endebyrdan* 'to arrange, order, dispose'; gl. conditor Nap. gl. 8,335; 7,35 (Ms. *endebyrded*).

bismeriend 'mocker, derider' : *bismerian* 'to mock, insult, deride'; omnis inlusor el *bismeriend* Kent gl. 60; inlusor *bismeriend* 298.³ Bouterw. supposes this word to be meant in Hpt. gl. 507 b³: insultatores, i. illusores *dras*. That is possible, but it may quite as well be *hyspendras*, cp. insultantes, i. exprobrantes *ȝehispende*, *bysmriende* Nap. gl. 1,1474; insultantes *onhys* 7,78; *hys* 8,95; ut adludit ealswa *bysmrað* 46,37; dedecus unðerisne *bismer* 1,4309.

ācennend (sb?) (only dpl.), 'parents' : *cennan* 'to bear (child)'; parentibus aldrum vel *acennendum* Du. Ri. 197¹¹. — The ptc. is probably used substantivally only to give a literal translation.

ciricend 'ecclesiastic'; glosses in the dpl. *ciricendrum* L. ecclesiasticus Lind. Mt. 1 8¹⁰: mortuis magis hereticis quam ecclesiasticis vivis. No corresponding verb is recorded. In other passages L. ecclesiasticus is glossed *cyriclic* (Nap. gl. 1,178: 1,2272; 1,3691: 1,4082), *ȝeleaf[ful]* (Nap. gl. 1,5302).

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¹ See BÜLBRING, § 318.

² See above, p. 79.

³ In his dictionary, BT. translates 'deceiver'; in the supplement TOLLER gives the sense of 'mocker, scorner', a change which seems quite correct, since a sense 'to deceive' is not recorded for the O. E. verb.

ēarclǣsnend 'ear-cleaner' (of little finger): *ēare* + *clǣsnian* (< *clǣn-sian*, Bülbr. § 523) 'to cleanse': glosses auricularius Cl. gl. 265[1]. Cp. *ēarfinᶾer* and *ēarscripel*, see above, pp. 61 f., 70.

cwellend 'a killer, slayer'; sector *cwellend* Germ. 400,529.[1]

ondǣlend 'infuser': *ondǣlan* 'to infuse'. Both words only in Northu.; (mæᵹna sellend and bloedsunᵹa) *ondǣlend* — L. (virtutum dator et benedictionum) infusor Du. Ri. 103₃.

fordēmend (only gdpl, but cp. *dēmend*) 'condemner': ab accusatoribus from henendum ł *f'doemendum* Lind. J. 15,9; [damnatorum *fordemendra*, proscriptorum Hpt. gl. 488a[7] = Nap. gl. 1,3479, where, however, *fordemendra* should be read *fordemedra*; cp. Napier.]

dihtend 'director, ruler': *dihtan* 'to set in order, arrange, direct'; dispensator i. gubernator, *dihtend*, wienere Nap. gl. 1,1997 = Hpt. gl. 453b[7].

yfeldōnd 'evildoer'; malefactor *yfeldoend* Lind. J. 18,30.

fadiend[2] 'arranger, director, disposer': *fadian* 'to set in order, arrange, direct'; moderator *fadiend* Nap. gl. 56,308.

endefæstend 'one who puts the last touches to a work, a finisher'[3] (BT.) 'one who fastens thoroughly' (in auctorem fidei et) consummatorem *endefæstend* Du. Ri. 27(20); (ecclesie tuæ redemptor atque) profector lesend and ec *derh endefæst'* 30(9). Cp. next word.

þurh-fæstend = prec. word.[2] The only record for the word is the one given under *endefæstend: þerh endefæst'* Du. Ri. 30(a) gl. profector which cannot be interpreted in any other way than as *þurhfæstend vel endefæstend*. As regards the meaning of the word, 'one who fastens thoroughly', cp. *þurh-clæsnian* 'to cleanse thoroughly', *þurhbrūcan* 'to enjoy thoroughly', *þurh-hǣlan* 'to heal thoroughly'.

ǣwiscfireniend 'shameless sinner': *firenian* 'to sin'; puplicani *ǣwisc-ferinend* Cl. gl. 480[3]; the recorded form will be due to miswriting of *ferinend* for *firenend*.

āflīemend[2] (only gpl) 'expeller, one who drives away'; excussorum *aflimendra* ł wrorhtberendra Ar. Ps. 126,4. The two glosses must not, of course, be thought to be synonymous; they are intended to give two possible translations of the lemma.

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[1] Sector in Med. L. = interfector (Du Ca).

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] *ende* has here assumed almost adverbial meaning : 'finally, ultimately + completely'; cp. *ende-dōᵹor* 'final, last day'. Cp. Sw. *slut* in *slutuppgörelse*.

Excussor has been interpreted 1) as 'wegtreiber expeller' *aflimend* — that is the only possible meaning of *aflimend* — 2) as 'accuser', *wrohtberend*, cp. this word, p. 148 and footnote.

forefrēfrend[1] : proconsul *f'e froefrend* 1 Du. Ri. 190[9]. — The word, of course, is a linguistic monster, intended to be a literal transl. of proconsul, the last member of which word has been misinterpreted as consolator.

ʒefrīʒend 'liberator' gl. L. liberator VPs. 17,3; 48; 39,18; 143,2 : *ʒefrēoʒan* 'to make free'. The vowel is quite regular in Mercian (BÜLBR. § 197).

The word offers another example of double *end*-nouns of the same verb, formed at different periods, cp. *frēond*. In the present case, the meaning of the word differs from that of the older formation, the two words originating from different senses of the verb in question.

frīolsend = prec. word : *frēolsian* 'to liberate, deliver'. Gl. also L. liberator in another Ps. version, viz. Eadw. 17,3; 48; 69,6; 77,35: 143,2.

ʒefultumiend 'helper, supporter' gl. fautor Cl. gl. 401[11]; adjutor Ar. Ps. 9,10; 35; 17,3(2×): 18,15; 145,5.

tofultomiend = prec. word; gl. adjutor Eadw. 145,5.

ʒefylstend = prec. word; gl. adjutor Reg. Ps. 17,3(2×): 18,15; 26,9: 29,11; 51,9; 58,18: 61,3: 62,8: 70,7; Hy. 4,2: Eadw. 17,3(2×): 18,15; 26,9; Ar. 58,18: 62,8.[2]

sunfolʒend 'heliotrope', gl. solisequia Co. S 396. Cp. *solsēce*.

edʒyldend 'remunerator' gl. renumerator Scint. 127,3.

hǣlsend 'augur' : *hǣlsian* 'to observe omens'; gl. exticipes, haruspices Co. E 484; Cl. gl. 393[14].[3]

hǣmend[1] 'fornicator' gl. incestator Cl. gl. 420[13].

dirnhǣmend (only gpl, but cp. *hǣmend*) = prec. word; cestarum *dirnhǣmendra* Cl. gl. 383[40].[4]

hālettend 'greeter', name of the middle finger : *hālettan, hālettan* 'to salute, greet, hail'; salutarius midemesta finʒer Cl. gl. 264[41]; salutaris *hǣletend* Br. gl. 291[24].

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[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] As for the different translations of adjutor in different Ps. gl., see WILD-HAGEN, Psalter des Eadwine, p. 13.

[3] See above, p. 90.

[4] Cestarum for incestarum (BT. suppl.)

This glossing shows perfectly well that the names of fingers occurring in the glossaries, such as *bīecnend, hālettend, ǣwiscberend*, etc. were not really used in O. E. speech, but only to render more or less literally the L. names. Salutarius was in L. a designation of the forefinger, but one of the O. E. glosses, viz., Cl. gl. 264⁴ (se midemesta finʒer), shows that the word was misunderstood by the Anglo-Saxon glossator.

hatiʒend 'hater, enemy'; and nama osor (osoris) feond oððe *hatiʒend* Ælfc gr 205⁸.

Cp. *hettend* and what was said on *frēond* and *ʒefrēoʒend* above, p. 183.

hearpiʒend(e?) sb. or ptc.(?) 'one who plays on a harp'; timpanistriarum *hearpiʒendra* ꝉ pleʒʒendra Ar. Ps. 67,26.

heriend[1] 'ravager': *herian* 'to ravage'; grassator *herʒiend* and ahiðend Cl. gl. 412¹⁹.

forheriend = prec. word grassator *ferherʒend* Ep. Erf. 467; *forherʒend* Co. G 153. — Cp. grassator latro Ep. 10 E 21 (Schlutter's edition).

[*onhiʒiende*, a most uncertain word, see its only record Nap. gl. 1,2209 (Nap. note), (Hpt. gl. 458a₂) : grassatrix, i. devoratrix, forswelʒend, *onhiʒiende*.]

hīenend (only dpl), 'one who humiliates, insults': *hīenan* 'to humble, humiliate, insult'; accusatoribus *henendum* Lind. J. I 5,9. The glossing, consequently, is not quite correct.

synnehȳrend[2] 'ismahelite': (tabernacula idumeorum et) hismahelitum (ʒeteld þara eorðlicra) *synnehyrendra* Reg. Ps. 82,7; *synnahyrendra* ismahelite Ar. Ps. ibid. If the word is correctly recorded, it must mean 'sin-hearer, sin-obeyer', 'sinner' (in contrast to the pious Israelites), cp. *hīera* 'subject', but the retention of the composition-joint is irregular (cp. other cpp. with *synn*), and rather points to some mistake.[3] The meaning of the Hebrew word Ismael is 'God hears', and one would think that the glossator's intention has been to give the proper meaning of the word, though he has made a

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[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] Not given in any dictionary, but registered by Schlutter, ESt. 38,23.

[3] The retention of the vowel could possibly be explained by assuming another type of composition, viz. with the gpl.; cp. the form in Ar. Ps.

mistake or been guilty of some misunderstanding. But, at any rate, the word, as it stands, must mean, 'sinners, sinful people'.

[*hiwiend* 'a former, shaper': *hiwian* 'to shape, fashion, form'. It is possible that Nap. is right in interpreting *niwiend* as *hiwiend* in Nap. gl. 1,365 : informator, i. plasmator *ʒestaðeliend*, *niwiend*.[1] "It seems likely that the glossator misread informator as reformator and took it to mean 'renewer'" (Nap.). This emendation is, however, not certainly correct. Even if informator[2] is meant and thought of, the gloss *niwiend* can be accounted for. *ʒeedstaðelian* and *ʒeedniwian* are, in fact, synonymous, meaning 'restorer'. When, therefore, *ʒestaðeliend* was used to gloss informator, plasmator, the glossator might well be reminded of *(ʒe)niwiend* as meaning much the same [*ʒeedstaðelian : ʒeedniwian = (ʒe)-staðeliend : (ʒe)niwiend*], though, of course, the glossing is not very careful. A 'renewer' is a sort of 'plasmator' too, and such slight inadvertencies in rendering the L. words in the glosses, are, as is well known, extremely common.].

hliniend 'recliner, one who leans': accubitor *hliniend* inclinator Hpt. gl. 414b[18].

lārhlystend 'catechumen': catechumenos *ʒecristnade lārhlestendras*, marg. *ʒecristnad* catecuminus Hpt. gl. 473b[3],[2] = Nap. gl. 1,2881.

— Commoner in the form of

(ʒe)lēafhlystend = prec. word; catacumini, i. audientis *ʒeleafhlysten-des*, *ʒecristnodes* Nap. gl. 1,2207 = Hpt. gl. 458a[5]; cp. conpetentium *ʒeleafhlystendra* Nap. gl. 2,69; competentes *ʒeleaf-hlystende* 7,202; 8,158: catechumenus *ʒeleafhlestend* Hpt. gl. 457a[12]; catacuminorum, i. auditorum *leafhlestendra* Nap. gl. 1,2190 = Hpt. gl. 458a[7]. — The words are formed from *lār*, 'doctrine', resp. *ʒelēafu* 'faith', + *hlystan* 'to listen'.

ymbhrinʒend (only dpl) 'attendant': *ymbhrinʒan*, 'to surround'; stipatoribus *ymbhrinʒendum* Ep. 929; Co. S. 533. Cp. Erf. 929 *ymbdrinʒendum* (r. *ymbþrinʒendum*).[3]

ʒehwǣriend, see. *ʒeþwǣriend*.

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[1] Nap., note ib.: "No doubt miscopied for *hiwiend* (*h* with short upper stroke is very like *n*)".

[2] = 'Bildner'.

[3] *stipator* 'Trabant' (Georges).

hyscend 'mocker, derider' : *hyscan* 'to mock, deride, reproach'; con-
vitiator *hiscend* Germ. 398,102.[1]

hyspend [2] 'scorner, reviler' : *hyspan* 'to scorn, revile'; gl. calumnia-
torem *hyspend* Reg. Ps. 71,4; cp. *hyspendes* gl. exprobantis
(substantival) Reg. Eadw. Ps. 43,17 (Ar. Ps. *hispendra*). —
Cp. also *bysmeriend* above, p. 181.

āhȳðend 'plunderer'; grassator herziend and *ahiðend* Cl. gl. 412[19];
cp. grassantibus *hiðendum* 414[27].

īecend 'increaser, one who augments'; hic auctor þes *icend* Ælfc
gr. 48[12].

foreiernend 'predecessor'; antecessor *foreiernend* Cl. gl. 339[6].

belādiend 'excuser' : *belādian* 'to exculpate, clear'; excusator *bela-
diend* Ælfc gl. 317[12].

alādiend = prec. word, gl. excussor Jun. Ps. 126,4.

lædend = prec. word, see p. 156.

inlaðiend 'inviter'; Scint. 170,8 (see p. 118).

lēaniend [2] 'remunerator', 'revenger'; gl. remunerator, Hpt gl. 424 b[10];
492 a[1]; Nap. gl. 1,767; ultrix vindicatrix Hpt gl. 496 a[5]; Nap.
gl. 1,3816 (cp. p. 118).

  The word is not, it is true, recorded in substantival forms,
but its meaning and the parallel formations (*edlēaniend, geed-
lēaniend* etc.) justify us in regarding it as a sb.

geedlēaniend = prec. word; remunerator *geedleanend* VPs. Hy. 13,28.

eftlēaniend : **eftlēanian*, cp. *eftlēan*, n. 'recompense'; remunerator
eftlean'end Du. Ri. 89(10).

lettend 'hinderer' : *lettan* 'to hinder'; is "dem Nativitätslunar in Tib.
A. III fol. 36b zu entnehmen, wo ein lat. adversus impeditor
erit glossiert ist mit widerweard *letted* (f. lettend, also
n-balken vergessen) he bið".[3]

belifend(r)as 'remaining people, survivors'; *belīfan* 'to remain'; super-
stites, i. laua (r. lafa) *belifendreas*, beliuene Hpt gl. 484 a[3];
superstites, i. vivi, lafa, *beliuendras* Nap. gl. 1,3313; super-
stites, i. vivi, *belifendes* 2,190 (r. *belifendas*).

eftlīesend 'deliverer, redeemer' : **eftlīesan*, cp. *eftlesing* Du. Ri.; re-
demptor *eftlesend* Du. Ri. 126,(6). *Eft* is evidently used as
an equivalent of L. *re-*.

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[1] *conviciator* 'Schmäher, Lästerer' (GEORGES).

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] M. FÖRSTER. ESt. 39,349.

tōliesend 'destroyer' : *tōliesan* 'to dissolve, loosen; to destroy' desolator, vastator, westend vel *tolysend* Harl. gl. 220[13].

in-, onlīehtend 'illuminator' : *onlīehtan* 'to illuminate; enlighten'; of God, gl. illuminator Du. Ri. 5[(2)]; inluminatio Ar. Ps. 26,1.

maðeliend (only gpl), 'orator' : *maðelian* 'to speak'; concionatorum wordriendra locutorum rethorum, marg. bannendra. *maðeli- endra* Hpt. gl. 460 b[7]; so also Nap. gl. 1,[2321].

Perhaps only a verbal form.

ʒemētend 'finder' : *ʒemētan* 'to find, discover'; inventor onfindend and *ʒemetend* Germ. 391 b,1.

nīwiend 'restorer' : *nīwian* 'to restore, renew'; informator, i. plasmator ʒestaðeliend. *nīwiend* Nap. gl. 1,[365]; Hpt. gl. has only ʒestaðeliend. — If *nīwiend* is correct, the L. lemma is not the exact equivalent. Nap. reads *hīwiend;* see that word.

pleʒend(e?), sb. or ptc.(?) (only gpl): *pleʒʒendra* gl. timpanistriarum Ar. Ps. 67,[26] (see *hearpiʒende* above, p. 184).

rīcsend 'ruler' : *rīcsian* 'to rule, reign'; rector *rīcsand* Du. Ri. 102[8]; *rīcsend* 164[5] (both times of God).

scēawiend 'onlooker'; spectatoribus *sceawendrum* Nap. gl. 4,[58]; *sceawiendrum* 7,[250].

leohtscēawiend 'light-seer', gl. lucivida Cl. gl. 434[20]. The dictionaries give an adj. 'light-seeing'; cp., however, p. 78.

scȳ(h)end 'seducer, corrupter' : *scȳ(h)an* 'to prompt, urge, suggest'; gl. maulistis[1] Co. M. 40; Leid. XLVII 35; Cl. gl. 443[3]. Cp. O. H. G. *scūhenti* 'exhortans'.

dōmsettend 'lawyer, judge' : *dōm + settan* 'establish (law)'; cp. *domsetl;* iurisconsultus, iurisperitus, i. e. rihtscrifend, sive *domsettend* Cl. gl. 429[6].

sēdend 'affirmer, asserter'; *sēdend* stipulatorem Nap. gl. 1,[5371] = Hpt. gl. 527 a[5].

ʒesēdend = prec. word; connuntiator, i. adsertor *ʒesedend* Harl. gl. 214[30].

siʒoriend 'victor' : *siʒorian* 'to vanquish, triumph over'; *siʒriend* victor Hymn. Surt. 38,7 according to BT.

forspennend 'procurer' : *forspennan* 'to entice, allure'; leno *forspennend* Ælfc gr. 36[11].[2]

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[1] μαυλιστής 'a pandar'.

[2] leno 'Kuppler, Verführer der Jugend zu Ausschweifungen' (GEORGES).

spillend (only gpl) : *spillan* 'to destroy, mutilate' and

onspillend (only gpl) : **onspillan* (= prec. verb);

>   parasitorum swilra, ʒliwra, marg. *spillendra* Hpt gl. 422 a₃ ;
>   parasitorum *onspillendra* New Aldh. gl. 29.

> *Parasitus* here stands in its Med. sense: parasitus 'famulus
> domesticus, qui de mensa domini victitat', also especially,
> 'lanio' (Du Ca[1]). Cp. other glosses for the word: swilre
> ʒliwera Nap. gl. 1,₆₇₉, where for *swilre* is to be read *spilre*
> Nap. ibid.); 2,₁₂; 4,₁₈; ʒliwra, cnihta, forspillendra þena 1,₄₁₆₅ ⟨
> Hpt. gl. 504 a[19]. The gloss, in any case, only partially ren-
> ders the sense of the lemma.

āspyriend 'investigator' gl. investigator VPs Hy. 13,₂₅.

ʒestaðeliend 'founder, establisher' : *ʒestaðolian* 'to found, build, es-
>   tablish'; informator, i. plasmator *ʒestaðeliend*, niwiend Nap.
>   gl. 1,₃₆₅ = Hpt gl. 415 a[3].

tōstencend 'prodigal' : *tōstencan* 'to disperse; dissipate, destroy'; pro-
>   digus *tostencend* Abbo Cler. gl. Zup. 167.

āstyriend 'stirrer' : *āstyrian* 'to agitate, raise'; 'move'; ventilator[2]
>   *astyriʒend* Germ. 393 a, 78.

strīenend 'acquirer', (ealra) *strīnend* (he *bið*) —L. (*omnium*) adqui-
>   sitor (erit) Geburtslunar Tib. A III Arch. 129,₁₉[2, 4].[3]

tǣcnend 'one that shows or points out, indicator' perhaps 'fore-
>   finger'[4] (cp. *bīecnend*) : *tǣcnian*, *tācnian* 'to show, point out',
>   index *tǣcnendi* torcten[di] Ep. Erf. 544; *tacnendi* Co. 1 216;
>   index *tǣcned* Cl. gl. 426[38] (read *tǣcnend*, with Sievers, ibid).

ātendend(e?), sb. or ptc.(?) (only dsg with -*um*), 'inflamer, inciter';
>   (fram) *atendendum* (his deofle byð ʒeþræst) — L. (ab) accen-
>   sore (suo demone punguetur) Scint. 208[3].

fortyhtend 'enticer, seducer' : *fortyhtan* 'to draw away, mislead,
>   seduce'; clinice, i. lectus, tetrus *fortihtend* Harl. gl. 205[35];
>   another record of this word is probably also Nap. gl. 1,₃₃₃₇ :
>   *fortyhtiʒend* incestator, i. maculator, which according to Nap.
>   (foot-note ibid.) "should be *fortyhtend*". A verb **tyhtian* is
>   not recorded.

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[1] The gloss goes back to Aldh., De laud. virg. XI 6 (p. 110, ed Migne.):
Lucifer parasitorum sodalibus vallatus et apostatarum satellitibus glomeratus.

[2] Ventilator 'Antreiber' (Georges).

[3] See ESt. 39,₃₅₂.

[4] Sievers, Anglia 13,₈₂₉.

What the lemma of the gloss Harl. 205³⁵ means, I do not venture to decide. An attempt to interpret it has been made by Schlutter.[1]

ȝeþeahtend 'counsellor' gl. consiliarius[2] Coll. Ælfc 99$_2^{11}$; 100⁷.

þeodend 'translator' : ȝeþēodan 'to translate'; cp. ȝeþēode 'translation'; gl. translator Nap. gl. 15,₆.[3]

þrēaȝend (only gsg) 'reprover': þrēaȝan 'to rebuke; oppress'; correctoris þreaȝendes Hpt gl. 527 b⁹ [4] = Nap. gl. 1,₅₃₈₀.

þrēatend, 'a violent person': þrēatian 'to urge, press; threaten'; violenti ðæm ðreatende vel nedunȝa Lind. Mt. 11,₁₂; violenti ðæm nedende vel ðæm þreatende 5,₁₂; þreaddende Mt. l 17⁴; ðreat'ū L. l 10³.

weccend 'mover, stirrer, inciter': weccan 'to arouse; move, stir up' incitator weccend Germ. 393a,₆₇.

dryhtwēmend 'bridesman': dryth⁵ + wēman 'to (persuade) announce' paranymphus witumbora drihtwemend Hpt. gl. 448a₁₅; paranymphus, i. paranimpha est pronuba, witumbora drihtwemend drihtwemere Nap. gl. 1,₁₇₇₄; cp. Napier, foot-note ibid.

wemmend properly 'defiler', especially 'fornicator, adulterer': wemman, to defile, pollute' which verb is also used in that somewhat specialized sense;[6] scortator, i. adulter, fornicator wemmend Hpt. gl. 484b²² = Nap. gl. 1,₃₃₃₉.

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[1] Anglia 19,₄₇₅.

[2] Cp. Schröder, ZfdA 41,₂₉₀.

[3] The form þeoden mine, occurring in Dan. 413 (where Grein takes it to stand for þeode mine), is emendated by Hofer, Entstehung des Daniel. Anglia 12, into þeodend mine. Hofer supports this emendation by referring to the occasional loss of final d in end-nouns. He assumes it to be a formation from þeodan = subjungere, subjugare, which he compares to Goth. þiudanōnds. Against this, however, must be remarked that the O. E. verb is not recorded in such a sense. Besides, this verb, as well as an end-noun formed from it (*þeodend), cannot be at all identified with Goth. þiudanōn and þiudanōnds, since a corresponding O. E. form would be *þeodenian and þeodeniend. Moreover, it would be rather curious if a king should use such an epithet of his subjects when addressing them. Grein's reading is no doubt the right one.

[4] Bouterwek gives, wrongly, the L. lemma as correctores and reads consequently, þreaȝendas. See Hausknecht's collation, Anglia 6,₁₀₂.

[5] As regards the first member of the word, cp. O. H. G. truhtigomo. O. E dryhtȝuma with the same sense. In O. Frs. (not in O. E.) dracht. drecht recorded in the sense of 'Brautgefolge' (< 'Schar, Gefolge') Richthofen).

[6] Ȝif þe oðres ceorles wif wemme (maculaverit) L. Ecȝb. (BT.)

ȝewemmend = prec. word: mechus *ȝewemmend* and forliczend Cl.
gl. 447[20].[1]

wendend 'that which turns round'; vertigo *wendend* Cl. gl. 489[12].
The gloss goes back to Aldh., De laud. virg. 111[1]: quam teres
vertigo cœli in modum rotantis fundibali circumgyrat. In
Nap. gl. 1.693 the passage occurs glossed thus: vertigo, a
vertendo, i. tempestas. tyrmincȝe. In general, L. vertigo is
glossed by a nomen actionis. The use of *wendend* is here
probably due to carelessness on the part of the glossator.

weorðiȝend 'moneylender': *weorðian* 'to value, esteem; worship, not
recorded with just this meaing; fenerator weorðiȝende Eadw.
Ps. 108.11: so also (according to BT.) Spelm. Ps.

rōdweorðiȝend 'worshipper of the cross'; crucicola, i. crucis adora-
tor, marg. vel -e *rod wurðiend* Hpt. gl. 403b[17].

wēstend 'destroyer, waster': *wēstan* 'to waste, ravage': desolator,
vastator, *westend*, tolysend Harl. gl. 220[13]; exterminator, va-
stator, *westend*, ytend ibid. 232[37].

ȝewieldend 'subduer, treader': *ȝewieldan* 'to subdue, control': predo-
mitor *ȝewyldend* Germ. 391a,12.

ymbwlātend 'spectator, observer': *ymbwlātian* 'to observe, con-
template', catascopus *emwlatend* Abbo Cler. Zup. 127; spec-
tatoribus, i. speculatoribus *emwlatenddum* Nap. gl. 1,3507;
attonitis spectatoribus, i. stupefactis, attentis speculatoribus
marg. ablidedcedum *emwlatendoum* (read: abliȝedum emwla-
tiendum accord. to BOUTERWEK) Hpt. gl. 488b[15].

tīdymbwlātend 'astrologer'; oroscopus *tid emwlatend* Abbo Cler. gl.
135. The words should probably be read together, as
forming one word, not *tīd- vel ymbwlatend:*

wordliend(e?) sb. or ptc. (?) (only gpl.) 'talker, discourser'; contiona-
torum, i. rethorum, bannendra, maðeliendra', *wordliendra*
Nap. gl. 1,2321 = Hpt. gl. 460b[9], where, however, the form
wordriendra is met with. A verb *wordrian* is non-existent.

wōriend 'vagabond': *wōrian* 'to wander'; vagabundis, i. errantibus
woriendum i. vagabundus *woriend* Hpt. gl. 484b[24,25].

wrǣstliend (only gpl.) 'wrestler'; luctatorum *wrǣstliendra* Cl. gl.
431[25].

wrēhtend 'accuser': *wrēȝan* 'to accuse'; accusator sui *wrehten* his
selfes Kent. gl. 650. The form may be explained by assuming

[1] Onwemmendra immaculatorum Reg. Ps. 36[17], wrong f. unwemmedra.

influence from *wrōht* and the synonymous *wrohtberend*,
-bora. It is also sometimes found in the pret. of the verb,
e. g. Ælfc Hom. 1. 478[17].

wrehtend 'exciter': *wreccan, wreahte* 'to rouse, excite'; incentor
wrehtend tyhtend Cl. gl. 420[29].

ȳtend 'expeller': *ȳtan* 'to expel' (: *ūt*); exterminator, vastator west-
end *ytend* Harl. gl. 232[37].

The above inventory of O. E. *end*-nouns has shown a very large stock of such formations on record in O.E. We will now proceed to a somewhat closer examination of the material, from several points of view, some of which have already been indicated by the classification adopted.

a) Form and Gender of e n d-nouns.

The *form* of the *suffix* has already been discussed at some length in the excursus devoted to the flexion of substantivized pr. ptcc., and it will be quite sufficient here to refer the reader to that part of my treatise, see above, p. 83 ff. With regard to the substitution of *-end* for *-iend* in certain *end*-nouns (as well as ptc.), see Note above, p. 155. Another well-known phenomenon, viz., the contractions sometimes found in the case of verb stems ending in a stressed vowel, e. g., *anfōnd* for *anfōend*, need scarcely be pointed out.

As a matter of course, the agential *end*-nouns always belong to verbs still living in O. E. It is true that there are a few isolated cases where there are no verbs recorded, but then we certainly must presuppose the existence of such a verb, or, at least, we may take for granted that the verb existed in germ, and could be formed whenever neccessary. Such cases are — I leave out of consideration the poetical cpp.-groups and those cpp. in *-end* in general that have a subst. as first element in the case of which, of course, there generally existed no compound verb directly corresponding to the compound *end*-noun in question —: *onspecend* (but cp. *onsprǣc* and *onspeca*); *midspecend*; *ciricend*; *eftlēaniend* (but cp. *eftlēan*); *eftliesend* (cp. *eftlēsing*). In the case of only one of the quoted words might there be some slight hesitation, viz., in the case of *ciricend*, the nearest relative of which is the sb. *cirice* 'church', but doubtless a verb*cirician* 'to belong to the church, to be faithful to the church' formed itself in the mind of the Northu. writer when he coined the subst. *ciricend* as a gloss for the L. ecclesiasticus.

As regards the *gender* of *end*-nouns, this does not exhibit any *Gender of end-nouns.* particular peculiarities, yet it affords some few points of interest.

End-nouns, like most ag.-n., are *masc.*, with the exception only of *swelȝend*, often (and originally) fem (see above p. 131) and, alternatively, of the other three words that are given by Sievers,[1] viz., *fēond*, *wealdend* and *timbrend* (masc. and fem.).

fēond: hic et hæc hostis *þes* and *þeos feond* Ælfc gr. 53[13].

wealdend: hic et hæc præsul *þes* and *þeos wealdend* Ælfc gr. 39[12].

timbrend: st Hilda - - - seo wæs *seo æryste timbrend* þæs mynstres þe is nemned Streoneshealh Mart. 206[18].

In the case of *fēond* and *wealdend*, in Ælfric's grammatical work, the fem. gender is only used in direct imitation of the L. expression, yet they show, as does still more clearly the record of *timbrend*, that fem. construction with these words was a possibility of the O. E. language, though this possibility was never developed or turned to account. *End*-nouns are often used for feminines but, with the exceptions quoted, always with masc construction. They could be used as fem., if some special reason rendered that desirable, as for instance, when the L. original had 'hic et hæc' before the word to be rendered in O. E. by an end-noun; but they generally we re not.

In the following cases we find *end*-nouns used of feminines.

1) **with adjectival flexion** (ending -e)

[*dælnimmende:* þeowenne, þæt heo sy *dælnimende* ðas heofonlican rices L. S. XXXIII 55].

fērende: wiht - - -, fæȝer *fērende* fundað æfre Rä. 84,5.

ȝelǣcende: gl. emula Germ. 391b,27.

wyrcende: unrotnysse þe is deaðes *wyrcende* Ags. Min. IX43 Ms. Tib. (Anglia 11,113), cp. below.

The first three instances are, however, quite inconclusive, cp. above p. 111 ff. — In the last instance, one might be inclined to suppose that the ending has been used on account of the fem. gender of the word referred to, just in order to create a form somewhat different from the usual masc. substantival one; yet one fails to see why the author should have had recourse to such an expedient, so ill adapted to its purpose. Cp. also above p. 115 f.

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[1] Ags. Gr. § 287. Sievers also mentions *londbūend*, 'colony'; such non-agential formations with -*end* are here, however, left altogether out of consideration.

2) *with ordinary substantival form:*

berend gl. gerula Cl. gl. 505²⁹.

tredend gl. calcatrix Harl. gl. 197⁹.

ariȝend: heo wæs wudewena and steopcilda *ariȝend* and ealra earmra and ȝeswincendra *frefriend* Mildred 430².

frēfriend, see preceding word.

friðiend: cyrcan - - - heo bið ure *friðjend* and *weriȝend* wid ðæt micele fyr on domes dæȝ Wulfst. 239⁷.

lufiend: þu cwen lare *lufiȝend* Ap. Tyr. 28¹⁵.

neriend: cyrice bið ure scyld and *nerjend* on domes dæȝ wið ðæt micle fyr Wulfst. 302²⁹ (cp. above *friðiend*; should not, however, *neriend* be altered into *weriend?*).

rihtraciend: seo boc (Ecclesiastes) is aȝendlice on Ænglisc *rihtraciend* ȝehaten Greg. 264²⁷; 265⁵; cp. þurh rædinȝe þæs *rihtraciendes* 265⁴.

weriend, see above, *friðiend* (cp. *neriend*).

wissiȝend: seo wyln bið ðære hlæfdian *wissiȝend* L. S. XVII₁₁.

wyrcend: unrotnysse þe is deaðes wyrcend Ags. Min. IX₄₃ (Anglia 11,₁₁₃), cp. above, p. 193.

The above records justify us in regarding the O. E. nom. ag. in *-end* as being of epicene gender, i. e., masc. as regards form and flexion and construction, but with possible application to feminines as well to as masculines (denoting either sex). Exceptionally they appear with common gender (see above).[1] The same will be found, in general, to hold good for the other agent-forming suffixes as well.

b) Semology of end-nouns.

It is a conspicuous feature of the semological structure, so to speak, of O. E. ag.-n. in *-end* that they are almost exclusively used of persons (person-designating ag.-n.). Only a very few words of a different character are to be found. The cases on record may be arranged as follows:

1) *designations of various concrete things: swelȝend, ȝeswelȝend, wendend, sīȝend;* especially words relating to parts of the human body, above all names of fingers: *æwiscberend, bicnend, ēarclǣsnend, hālettend, forecorfend* (all literal translations of L. designations of the things in question); *ȝēotend; stīȝend.*

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[1] The terms *epicene* and *common* gender used in accordance with Noreen's terminology, see Vart Språk V.₃, p. 312 ff.

2) *grammatical terms:* *dǣlnimend, speliend*

3) *person-designating words in transferred sense:* *rihtraciend*

4) *plant-names:* *hwatend* (of uncertain etymology). *sunfolzend*

5) *designations of groups of animals:* *crēopende, lyftflēozende, lazuswimmende, lyftlācende* (once used of birds), *līðend* Gen. 1472 perhaps, but probably not (see above p. 135); noteworthy is, however, that in all the given cases, except *crēopende*, the words are not true names of the animal-groups in question; they are only used as kennings for the proper appellative designations.

Compared with the large number of the remaining *end*-nouns, which are all person-designating, the cases mentioned will thus be found to represent only exceptional uses of the suffix. It is also to be observed that the majority of the formations adduced (especially under 1, 2, and 4) have the character of gloss-words.

The person-designating end-nouns, especially the poetical ones, are, as has already been intimated, to a great extent kennings. Such was found to be the case with the cpp.-groups containing as agent-forming last member *berend, rǣdend, sittende, wīzend, āzende, būend(e), fremmende, hæbbende, wunizende, wyrcende* (cp. above *lyftlēozende lazuswimmende, lyftlācende*), so also with *moldhrē-rende* and with the simple words *scēotend* and *scieppend* (probably). A few of the cpp. stand just between ordinary designations of and kennings for a certain idea; such is the case with the *līðend*-group (cp. alse *wīzend*-cpp.): the poetical use of the several words, except in the case of *sciplīðende*, rather refer them to the class of kennings. [Some of the poetical words the agential character of which is a little doubtful are not exactly kennings, only *variations*.[1]] Also a great number of other *end*-nouns, above all those representing various designations of the Deity, will have to be included in the category of kennings, or they are at least very closely allied to them.

If the points of view from which ag.-n. in general were consi- dered in the introduction are taken up in the case of the words now under consideration, we shall find words representing (though in greater or lesser numbers) almost all the several categories established there. For the proper understanding of the following classification, the instances of each separate word given in the preceding parts of my treatise must be compared, since I cannot, of course, from considerations of space, give any of them over again here.

Assertive and denominational end-nouns.

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[1] Cp. the work of PAETZEL, referred to above, p. 109.

I. Assertive end-nouns.

1. Poetical words.

a   Kennings (and similar words).

benc- flet-[1], *heallsittende; (ealo)drincende* (cp. prose *drincende*
and *windrincende*); *lācende*-cpp., e. g. Wolf. 5;[2] *līðend*, sometimes
also *līðend-cpp.*,[2] e. g. *sǣlīðend* Walf. 48; *wǣʒlīðende* Walf. 11,
Gen. 1395, 1432; *merelīðende* Gen. 1407: A. 353; *meðelhēʒende*,
if really substantival.

b. Poetical end-nouns other than kennings.

feormiend 'supplier'; *fērend* Walf. 25; *wyreend*[2] Par. Ps. 113,17;[3]
brinʒend[4] *lēdend*[4]; *myndʒiend; spyriend; frēfrend*[2] Par. Ps. 68,21;
    Here belong also the majority of ptcc. used occasionally as
subst.: *ewāniendra* (cirm); *byrnendra* (scole); *drȳmendra* (ʒedryht);
(næs þa) *frieʒendra* (ʒad).

2. Prose words.

bebēodend Past. 405[25]; *sciplīðende; onsittend; ymbsittend* (but
not the poetical word, *ymbsittend*); *weʒfērend; biddend; feohtend;
wiðfeohtend* Past. 279[1] (but rather descriptive Bd 21.334); *tēond;
ewielmend; dǣlend; ēhtend*[2]; *frēfriend*[2]; *fultumiend*[2]; *fylʒend; æf-
terfylʒend; fylstend; ʒīemend* (Ælfc); *heriend; ʒehīerend*[5]; *hlystend;
lǣnend* (or denominational?); *lǣstend; maniend* Past. 407[13]; Greg.
(approaching denominational sense; Mart. 172[22] denominational);
*sceʒend; midspecend, onsprecend; sēmend; tǣcend; tīenend; ofer-
swīðend; timbriend* (Mart., Bd), *wrēʒend.*

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[1] According to my interpretation of the word (see above, p. 136 f.); accord.
to the translation — proved above to be wrong — given by lexicographers. it
would have to be classified as characterizing.

[2] Also denominational.

[3] Heo wǣron *þam wyrcendum* wel ʒelice and *aʒhwylcum* ðe him on
treowað ('those that made them').

[4] The following dat. marks these words as strictly verbal, not denomina-
tional. in the passages where they occur: Crist — — wæs æ *brinʒend* lara
lǣdend þam þe - - Cr. 140.

[5] Transl. L. *blasphemum* denoting one blaspheming on a certain occa-
sion; yet it may be denominational all the same (cp. *lǣwend*).

Here belong also most of the ptcc. occasionally used as subst.: *dǣdbētende; behrēowsiȝende; forscŏnde; ȝeōmriȝende; lyffetende; lēasōleccende; lēoȝende; ondrǣdende; sinȝende; slǣpende; ǣtstandende; wēpende; andettende; blissiende; clipiende; onlōciende; nellende; andswariȝende.*

II. Denominational end-nouns.

1. In poetry.

a. Kennings (and similar words).

α) for human beings.

berend-cpp.; *līðend*-cpp.[1], e. g. *sǣlīðend* B. 1818[2]; cp. also B. 2806; *lācende*-cpp.; *burhsittende, ymbsittend* (cp. the prose-word *ymbsittend); wīȝend*-cpp., which do not, as was seen, denote warriors fighting on the occasion in question with the weapon denominated by the the first part of the cpp., but simply 'warriors'; *āȝende*-cpp. (as long as they are not concr. nom. virt.); *būend*-cpp.; *fremmende*-cpp., or perhaps rather assertive (many of them are nom. virt.): *wuniȝende*-cpp.; *wyrcend(e)*-cpp.; *lyftflēoȝende laȝuswimmende; moldhrērende; tūdortēonde; scēotend.*

β) of the Deity[3].

metend; (rodera) *rǣdend; scyppend; wealdend; oferwealdend; āȝend; dēmend;* (flōdes) *feriȝend* (verging on assertive sense); *frōfrend; ȝēocend; hǣlend; neriend; settend; þeccend; trymmend.*

Cp. here also *leohtberend* (Lucifer); (þystra) *stihtend* (of the devil).

b. Ordinary designations (of beings).

æfterewedend; hearmcwedend; wiðerfeohtend; scieþþend (or a kenning); *wrecend; ȝoddōnd; wīdfērende; hettend, ealdhettende; oferhelmend;* (rihtes) *wēmend* (of Jude in E.): (fācnes, unrihtes) *wyrcend.*

frumspreecend; wealdend; wīȝend; (deora) *drǣfend; feormiend*[1]; *scipfērend; hæbbend(e); ælǣrende.*

Perhaps some of these words are to be regarded as kennings, too.

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[1] Also assertive.

[2] Used by Beow. of his people, when he announces his intention to return to his native country.

[3] All of these words are not, of course, kennings in the strict sense of the term.

2. In prose.

a. Designations of the deity.

bebēodend (WS. Gosp.); *ʒiefend; healdend; helpend; scyppend; ʒe-scyppend; wealdend; wrecend; āhniend;* (dīʒla) *onenāwend; frēfri-end; fyrðriend: beʒiemend* (eallra þinʒa); *hǣlend; edlēaniend* (þæs ēcan lifes); *līesend, ā(on-)līesend; ʒemetiend; (ʒe)miltsiend; neriend; ednīwiend* (mennisces cynnes); *reccend; rihtend; (ʒe)scildend; sel-lend;* (mōdes) *smēaʒend* (and manna heortan) (approaching assertive sense); *(ʒe)edstaðeliend; stīerend; weriend: wyrcend* (heofenan and corðan); (sāwla hǣlo) *tiliend.*

Designations of human beings.

drincende, wīndrincende (cp. poetry); (þone) *wiðfeohtend* (ura ʒoda) Bd.; *ʒiefend; foresteppend; swelʒend* (used of Alexander); (unscæððiʒra) *beswīcend* (of Neptune); *āriend; costiend = costniend* (of the devil); *unrihtdōnd; weldōnd;* (Nero wæs) *ēhtend* [1] (crīsten-ra manna); *frēfriend* [1]; *fultumiend* [1] (Bd, Ælfc Hom.); *æfterfyl-ʒend* [1] in the sense of 'sequax': *unrithhǣmend; hirwend* (or asser-tive, cp. above, p. 196), *forhyczend, oferhoʒiend; onhyrʒend* and *(ʒe)efenlæcend* (or assertive); *lǣrend* (verging on assertive); *(be)-lǣwend; lufiend; mundiend; bepǣcend; raciend, rihtraciend;* (cyr-can) *rēafiend, berēafiend; forscrencend;* (ʒod lufað þone ʒlædan) *syllend; āsyllend; swefniend; tǣlend;* (moncynnes) *tȳdriend; tyh-tend; weriend; bewēriend; āwēstend; wierʒend; wissiʒend;* (lēas) *wyrcend; welwyrcend; healdend; rōwend; āʒend; būend; londbūend; bodiend; eardiend; hālsiend; lænend; moniend* [1]; *reccend; rihtendi oferscēawiʒend; timbriend* Greg. 392[2] (or assertive); *wissiend.*

As far as *denominational* ag.-n. are concerned, I have not, in the above classification, distinguished between *characterizing* (descriptive) and *calling-denoting* ag.-n., for the simple reason that there are hardly any *end*-nouns at all to be found for which calling-denoting sense can, with certainty, be established. If we should try to pick out from the material given the words that might pos-sibly be regarded as calling-denoting, we should arrive at the following astonishingly poor result:

a) in **poetry**

(dēora) *drǣfend; ǣlǣrend(e)*

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[1] Also assertive.

b) in prose

rōwend, londbūend, (ʒaſoles) moniend, timbr(i)end.

A few other words certainly approach calling-denoting sense, such as *āʒend, wealdend, bodiend, hālsiʒend*, but these (and similar words) rather denote persons appearing in a certain (generally intellectual) capacity than as real exercisers of a calling in the strict sense of the term. The words mentioned above as possibly calling-denoting are also by no means unquestionably so. The two poetical formations will scarcely allow of such an interpretation, since they are only used once and then in poetry; they were doubtless absent from the prose vocabulary -- which has *hunta* in the case of the former; as for *ǣlǣrende*, there will have been no need for any popular designation of that idea, cp. also what is adduced as the reason of the coining of that word see p. 152. A calling-denoting ag.-n. must, by its very nature, be a more or less universally established designation of the exerciser of the calling in question. In juridical literature, we meet with the words *londhæbbende, londbūend*, and *sēmend*, the first of which (perhaps also the second) is nothing but an adj. used occasionally as a subst., and the last of which does not denote the occupier of a particular post, since different persons could act as *sēmend* — hence it was classified above as assertive.[1] Again, as regards *londbūend*, its one prose-record does, it is true, show it in a calling-denoting sense, viz., 'farmer, husbandman, tiller', but in a rather general and vague way, as opposed to *scipmen. ʒaſoles moniend* is only used as a translation or rather explanation of the L. theloniarius and so is scarcely more conclusive than a gloss-example (cp. the synonymous *bydel*, see p. 59). *Rōwend* did not express the follower of a calling, either, properly speaking, and the denominational *timbr(i)end*, finally, was not identical with *trēowwyrhta*, N. E. *carpenter*, but meant the (masc. or fem.) person who caused a house to be built, the master-builder; thus we cannot put it altogether on a par with Goth *timrja*, or O. H. G. *zimbarāri* or *zimbarman*, as Klump does[2]; conjectures may be precarious, but I lean to the conclusion that *timbr(i)end* was the only way of expressing the idea in question in O. E., since a **timb(e)rere* would undoubtedly have suggested the 'worker'.

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[1] Cp. Liebermann II: 2 under Schiedsgericht.
[2] Handwerkernamen, p. 114.

Among the gloss-instances, on the other hand, we find seve-
ral words that are calling-denoting, or approach calling-denoting
sense, such as *diseberend, tācnberend, tuporberend, wæterberend,
wǣxberend; winwyrcend; durehealdend; rihtscrifend* and *dōmset-
tend; æfter-* and *foresinʒend; ciricend; tīdymbwlātend.* These
cases, however, prove nothing at all as to the semological charac-
ter of the suffix in ordinary O. E., since they are only used as
translations of L. words which often express ideas without any
correspondence in actual Anglo-Saxon life. As for the great num-
ber of *berend*-cpp. of this type, the fact may, moreover, be worthy
of attention that they will scarcely have been felt very clearly as
end-nouns, but merely as *berend*-nouns: *-berend* (like *-bora*) had
assumed much the character of a suffix. — Again, gloss instances
of this kind are very inconclusive, cp. below, p. 211.

Opposition will perhaps be raised by some scholars to my
classification of a certain group of words: I have in mind some
of the great number of words expressing the Deity, which I have
regarded as denominational with scarcely an exception. Now,
in a phrase in which God is spoken of as *scyppend and edni-
wiend mennisces cynnes,* the two ag.-n. are, of course, not in them-
selves denominational, since they mean respectively 'one who cre-
ates', 'renews' something, the processes taking place on a certain
occasion (the objective genitive governed by them is also to be ob-
served). But in my opinion — as may be inferred at once from
the terminology used in this work and the points of view empha-
sized above in my introductory remarks, cp. p. 13 ff. — they do
not t e l l us anything about God any longer; they only d e s i g n a t e,
Him (from a well-known point of view), they have lost all tem-
poral character 'sind zeitlos geworden'. They are all n a m e s of the
deity, not c o m m o n names, it is true, (they are sometimes even
recorded only once in the whole bulk of O. E. religious literature)
but names they are. Such ag.-n. may, of course, be formed *ad
infinitum* to denote the different activities of God towards mankind.
— It may also be pointed out in this connection that only a few
of the words in question are recorded as other than designations
of the deity.

As assertive ag.-n designating God I regarded only *brinʒend*
and *ladend* (perhaps also *ferizend*). In those cases, the names
do retain any of the assertive force of the verb.

It goes without saying that, in the case of many of the words given, it is debatable whether my interpretation of their semological character is correct or not — is the only possible one or not. Indeed, I should not be astonished if some readers should want to add some words to my group of assertive *end*-nouns at the expense of my denominational ones; scarcely, however, the other way about. Yet insofar, at least, as existing semological types are concerned, I venture to hope that the survey will afford a fairly good view of the actual state of things.

It then seems to me to be fairly clear that the *end*-nouns really have two specific semological functions, viz.,

1. to form ag.-n. of a strongly marked verbal character, denoting the occasional performer of an action (assertive ag.-n.);

2. to form that kind of denominational person-designating ag.-n. which I have called characterizing.

Assertive ag.-n.

The first of these functions is, in fact, quite in the nature of things. Being pr. ptcc. turned into sb., the *end*-nouns are, of all ag.-n., those most closely associated with the corresponding verbs. The concordance prevailing in the sense of *end*-nouns and of the corresponding verbs is also quite a natural outcome of this intimacy : *end*-nouns hardly ever show a specialized sense, when compared to that of the verbs. For the purpose of denoting persons as performing an action on a certain occasion, thus of forming agent-nouns with strongly marked verbal character, these formations must, therefore, have been particularly well suited, and they also were the means preferably resorted to in such cases.

Pr. ptcc. used substantivally with weak adjectival flexion.

Side by side with the substantival *end*-formations with the function of forming assertive ag.-n. we also find the pr. ptc. in their adjectival forms used substantivally, either in their strong form — cp. instances above, p. 197 — or in their weak form. In the preceding portion of my monography on agential *end*-nouns, I have left the latter form of such words altogether out of consideration. Now, substantival words of this kind are always apt to get summarily treated, I think. And in this case, we have unquestionably before us a group of forms that is most worthy of attention as representing a popular mode of agent-formation, and whose claims of being considered as such I strongly advocate. The reason why I have not included these forms in the detailed account given above of substantival *end*-nouns is the same as was

advanced above in my excursus on the flexion of substantival *end*-nouns, viz., the circumstance that they ought, in the first instance, to be viewed in the light of the substantivization of adjectives in general. Again, this type of agent-formation is very simple, as regards the morphological structure of its formations, and from that point of view the type does not call for such detailed treatment as most other modes of agent-formation : such substantival forms can be made, it seems, from any verb. What is interesting about it is, first and foremost, its semological character, and in order to give an idea of that, I may be allowed, in this connection, to dwell upon it a little and to give some instances of its use.

Thus, as was indicated above, we find substantival ptcc. with weak adjectival flexion in a great many cases, with the special semological function of forming *assertive ag.-n.* I give below the most important of the cases of this kind that I have met with :

wrītende : seo hand and þæt ӡewrit *þæs writendan* — L. stilus scribentis Greg. 9[18].

  Cp. denominational : *writere* 'scribe'.

bēodende : *þæs beodendan* stefne ӡefolӡiað — L. iubentis vocem R. Ben. 20[4].

  Cp. *bydel, boda,* chiefly denominational.

ymbsittende : frunan hi *þa ymbsittendan* — L. a circumsedentibus Bd IV 1497; ealle *þa ymbsittendan* Ap. Tyr. 27[25]; 26[19].

  Cp. *ymbsittend,* used in prose in the same sense, but cp. cpp. with *-sæta,* denominational.

ymbstandende : he sceal ӡretan his *ymbstandendan* Eccl. Inst. 406 VII.

inӡanӡende : þætte *þa inӡanӡendan* þær heora cneowunӡa beӡan sceoldon — L. ubi intrantes - - deberent Bd III 1905 B.

hātende : ӡehyrde þa word *þæs hatendan* — L. iubentis Greg. 159[16].

rǣdende : seo rædinӡ - - clænsað þa sawle *þæs rædendan* — L. legentis Alc. Virt. Angl. XI 374,79.

  Cp. *rǣdend* 'interpreter, diviner', and cp. *rǣdere* 'reader, lecturer' (denominational), e. g. lector is *rǣdere* seþe ræt on circan Ælfc Past. Ep. 378[6]

slǣpende : heo cymð *þam slæpendan* on mode — L. dormienti in animum Poenit. Ecӡb. 200[13]; þam mode *þæs slæpendan* — L. dormientis mentem Bd I 2110; cp. seo bysmrunӡ *slæpendes* — L. inlusio dormientis ibid. 2139.

Cp. denominational : *slǣpere* : þæra eadiʒra seofon *slæpera*
ðrowunʒ L. S. XXIII 1 (De septem dormientibus); nu æfter
twam daʒum is ðæra seofon *slapera* ʒemynd Ælfc Hom. II
424[8].

weʒfērende : þa cwæð *se weoferenda* to ðam æwfæstan mæn — L.
conviator Greg. 128[15]. Immediately before stands : oðer weʒ-
ferend 128[9]. Originally used adjectivally, cp. above, p. 102.

æfterfylʒende : þa andweardan ealle and eac *þa æfterfylʒendan* —
L. presentes et secuturi omnes Greg. 98[1] C.

Cp. *æfterfylʒend*, the sense of which is less markedly
verbal.

heorcniende : þæt hit to hefiʒtyme ne þince *þam heorcniʒendum*
Ælfc Hom. II 72[9].

ʒehīerende : þam mode *þæs ʒehyrendan* Greg. 8[16]; *þara ʒehyrendra*
heortan — L. corda audientum 33[32].

iernende : onʒan ic yrnan mid þam yrnendum L. S. XXIII B 402.
Cp. *rynel*, probably denominational.

leornende : þone þanc *þara leornendra* — L. sensus legentium
Prose-Guþl. 102 prol. 32.

Cp. denominational (almost always) : *leornere*, e. g. Beda
se leornere Mart. 32[15], yet once assertive : ðeos spræc stiʒʒe
on þæt inʒeðonc *ðæs leorneres* 'in the mind of the learner'
Past. 23[17].

secʒende : he andwyrde sona *þam secʒendum* þus Assm. Ælfc 31,[178].
Cp. *secʒend* above p. 171.

tintreʒiende : ðæt fram *tintreʒiendan* sume ðraʒe wolde seo wæll-
ʒrimness ʒebidan — L. a torquente Greg. 163[10] C.

wæccende : of scondlicum ʒeðohte *ðæs wæccendan* upcymeð seo
bysmrunʒ slæpendes — L. vigilantis Bd I 2138.

witeʒiende : *þara witeʒiendra* mod — L. prophetantium mentes
Greg. 146[33] H.

In the given cases, two facts are particularly prominent:

1) that the O. E. substantival ptcc. almost unexceptionally —
for a few it has not been possible to ascertain their L. equivalents
— correspond to pr. ptcc. in substantival use in the Latin
original.

2) that very often the pr. ptcc. are used with assertive sense
in contrast to another agent-formation from the same verb
with denominational sense.

But the *end*-nouns also appeared in a second, specific semo-
logical function, viz., as characterizing person-designating ag.-
nouns. This second function of theirs is, indeed, even more con-
spicuous than the first, though, at first sight, it does not seem to
be so obvious. First, we here meet with the large group of
kennings, a type which is a common Teutonic one, the same
use of the suffix occurring in O. S., as well as in O. N. poetical
literature. The O. E. agential kennings are, in fact, formed pre-
ferably by means of two suffixes, viz., *-end* and *-a(n)* (cp. above,
p. 124, and cp. part. II of my work). Then we also have those very
numerous *end*-nouns denoting the Deity, whether these form-
ations are regarded as kennings or not. And, finally, there are to
be found among these words a very great number of nouns de-
noting the performer of an action of an abstract kind, the per-
former of some, chiefly mental, more seldom physical, work, by
which he is characterized and named, words of the semological
type of *oferhoʒiend*.

*Pr. ptcc.
used sub-
stantirally
with weak
adjectival
flexion.* With this function, too, i. e., when the ag.-noun is used to
characterize the person from the point of view of a certain action
— I now leave out of consideration the particular use as ken-
nings — we find pr. ptcc. used substantivally with weak adjectival
flexion. In this case, it is true, the semological character of the
clearly substantival *end*-nouns and the adjectival forms is not al-
ways quite identical, the latter rather representing concrete nomina
virtutis in a great many cases, yet the semological relationship
between the types is obvious, and the parallelism of the two types
should certainly be kept in view. The following examples will be
illustrative of this use of the pr. ptc.:

[*crēopende, snīcende* : *ða creopendan* and *ða snicendan* Past. 155[17].
In this case, not a person-designating word, but the example
represents the same type.]

etende, fæstende : *ða fæstendan* ne forsawen *ða etendan* Past. 313[9];
þu fæstendan ibid. 313[18]; 317[13, 20, 24] etc.

forʒiefende : ac þæm ʒeþyldeʒan - - - and *ðæm forʒiefendan* is to
secʒanne ðæt he Past. 220[24].

ʒesīonde, ʒehīerende : *þu ʒescondan* ne ʒeseoð ne *ða ʒehyrendan*
hyrað L. S. 37,142.

widfarende : *ðone widfarendan* and ðone wædlan læd on ðin hus
Past. 315[14].

dǣdbētende : abbod careful beon sceal ymbe ða dǣdbetendan R. Ben. 7[6] (rb.); 50[8, 17] (rb.): ure drihten ʒelæt ða dǣdbetendan æfter soðre dædbote to ðære uplican Hierusalem Ælfc Hom. II 68[12]; ðæs dǣdbetendan — L. poenitentis Alc. Virt. 386,[368].

efsiende : se efsiʒenda efsode his heafod Past. 141[3].

ʒītsiende : se hneawa and se ʒitsienda Past. 149[18]; eala þu ʒitsiʒenda and ðu weleʒa Blickl. Hom. 51[1].

(ā)ʒyltende : wið ða ʒyltendan Past. 123[23]; ðæt mod ðæs aʒyltendan 165[19].

forhæbbende : ða forhæbbendan (in opposition to ða wifʒalan) Past. 317[24].

wōhhǣmende : ne ða wohhǣmendan - - - ne ða ðiofas - - - ʒodes rice ne ʒesittað Past. 401[27]. — Cp. unrihthǣmend p. 166.

behrīowsiende : he symle ʒeare is ða hreowsiʒendan to underfonne L. S. XXIII, B 468.

oferhoʒiende : ða ʒymeleasan and ða oferhoʒiendan he sceal - - - ðrēaʒan — L. contempnentes R. Ben. 13[15]. — Cp. above oferhoʒiend, p. 145.

hynʒriende : brec ðam hynʒriendum ðinne hlaf Past. 315[14]; ʒod ʒefylð ða hinʒriendan mid his ʒodum Ælfc Hom. I 202[1].

irsiende : hwæthwuʒu bið betweoh ðæm irsiendan and ðæm unʒeðyldiʒan Past. 293[15] — L. iracundi; ða iersiʒendan ibid. 293[17]; cp., as an adj., ða irsiendan men 295[9].

scyldiʒende : wirð ða scyldʒiendan swuʒode Past. 151[23].

synʒiende : he sceal eac mid ʒesceade ða synʒiendan scrifan Canons Ælfc. 354[7].

twȳniende : he wolde ða twryniʒendan ʒetrymman Ælfc Hom. I 234[9].

hæbbende, wǣdliende : het us ʒewelʒian ða hæbbendan, ac ðæt we ða wædliʒendan ʒefultumedon Ælfc Hom. II 106[17, 16].

wierʒende : ne ða ðiofas, ne ða druncenwillan, ne ða wierʒendan ʒodes rice ne ʒesittað Past. 401[29]; cp. Ælfc Hom. II 34[10]. see above p. 174; þu werʒendan ne sceal mon na onʒeanwerian, ac ma bletsian — L. maledicentes R. Ben. 17[13].

welwillende : ða welwillendan Past. 15[16], 175[20] etc.

unrihtwillende . ðam unrihtwillendum Past. 89[22].

yfelwyrcende : he hatað ða yfelwyrcendan and ða unrihtwisan L. S. I 48; XXV 285.

As was said above, the majority of these cases will have to be regarded as representing concrete nom. virtutis — note, too,

their co-ordination with clear adjs. in a great many cases. They
have passed from verbs into adjectives, and then from adjs. into
substantives, yet with retained adjectival flexion, just like ordinary
adjectives. The semological relationship, however, between these
forms and the characterizing *end*-subst. (see above, p. 198) is ob-
vious, as appears also from the fact that, in not a few cases, we
find both a clear subst. and an adjectival form side by side, cp.
ða wōhhǣmendan and *unrihthǣmend, ða oferhoziendan* and *ofer-
hoziend, ða wierzendan* and *wierzend*. The substantival words in
question, too, stand on the border of concrete nom. virtutis (cp.
Introduction, p. 16). It seems, however, as if the *end*-substantives
are really meant to have a more agential character, and the corre-
sponding adjectival forms to give a more adjectival meaning. Take,
for instance, the forms *wierzend* and *se wierzenda*. In the passage
just quoted — ne ða ðiofas, ne ða druncenwillan, ne *ða wierzendan*
zodes rice ne zesittað Past. 401[29] — the adj. *drunkenwillan* guides
the author and leads him to use the adjectival form: in the in-
stance quoted above, p. 90, — ne zytseras, ne drinceras - - - ne
wyrzendras, þara muð bið symle mid zeættrode wyrizunze afylled
L. S. XVII 42 — the preceding substantival words lead Ælfric to
use a substantival form, the associations of which rather put it in
the class of nom. ag. Yet I do not think that the semological diffe-
rence between the two forms is so prominent as the morphological
one: in both cases, the idea implied is something between the
performer of an action and the bearer of a quality, though in one
case with greater tendency towards concrete nom. virtutis and in
the other towards nom. ag. — on account of the different asso-
ciations combined with the two types. Cp. also *se zītsizenda* and
zītsere, drinceras and *ða druncenwillan,* the semological difference
between which pairs will certainly not have been very prominent.
Or cp. *ða oferhoziendan,* in the example given just above, (ða
zymeleasan and *ða oferhoziendan* R. Ben. 13[15]) with *oferhozi-
end* in R. Ben. 48[6] (: his yldrena zeboda *oferhoziend* — L. con-
temptor), or with *forhyczend* in, e. g., Bd 1 334 (ðone *forhyczend
ura zoda* — L. sacrilegum.) In these cases, the choice of forms is
more a matter of construction than of sense, though, certainly, a
slight difference of sense is called into existence at the same time.

The pr. ptc. used substantivally with weak adjectival flexion
is thus met with in two specific semological functions, viz., as

forming assertive ag.-n. — especially in Ælfric and in Greg. and Bd. — in which case we hardly find it, except to render a L. pr. ptc. used in that way, and as forming concrete nom. virtutis or sometimes characterizing ag.-nouns — a function which is extremely frequent in Ælfred's translations af Cura Past. and in Ælfric's works.

The preceding analysis of the semological character of O. E. *Summary.* participial substantives has thus disclosed a close relationship between the substantival *end*-nouns, on the one hand, and the adjectival and verbal *ende*-forms, on the other. An obvious parallelism has, in fact, allowed itself to be established between the two principal semological functions of the *end*-subst. and the verbal and adjectival pr. ptcc. For such a parallelism is to be found between,

1) the assertive *end*-subst. and the assertive *ende*-ptcc. in substantival use, and

2) the characterizing *end*-subst. — of the type of *oferhoʒiend*, and the characterizing *ende*-ptcc. — of the type of *oferhoʒienda* — in substantival use.

If, in case 1), the agential form of a verb altogether lacks appellative force (on account of the sense of the verb), the substantival use of *ende*-ptcc. is generally met with (not an *end*-noun).

From the points of view now indicated, the intrinsic nature of *end*-nouns seems very clear. Their two principal semological functions appear to be just what might have been expected *a priori* and what is in agreement with the dual character of pr. ptcc., viz., that of verb and adj. The *end*-nouns are thus very intimately associated with the verbs to which they belong, a fact which is also quite in the nature of things, since O. E. *end*-nouns are not, with some very few exceptions, old consonant stems, but are simply pr. ptcc. substantivized.

c) Stylistic character of *end*-nouns.

In my classification of the material of O. E. ag.-n., the stylistic character of the formations in question was made a guiding factor, as being one of a most conspicuous nature and of paramount importance. There are a very great number of such words that only occur in poetry, whereas others belong exclusively to prose, and a third group is restricted to use in glosses.

The poetical *end*-nouns were found to form a class by them-
selves, both from a semological and a morphological point of view.
It may suffice here to refer to my detailed account of that matter in
the excursus above, p. 103 ff. (as regards semology, cp. also above
p. 204), and I need here add only a few words. We have found
whole groups of compounded *end*-nouns —chiefly kennings, but
also a few others — of very frequent occurrence in poetry, but
they are almost entirely lacking in prose or are represented there
only by some very few words. And then it is noteworthy that,
if a certain cp.-group is represented in poetry by several words,
it is often another word, another cp., that occurs in prose, or it
is one of the ordinary cpp., though in a different and more literal
sense. The former alternative was exemplified in the prose-word
scip-līðende, which occurs side by side with six other *līðend*-cpp.,
all of which are poetical. Here belongs also the consideraton of
the phenomenon, by no means rare, that, by the side of several
cpp. forming a group, the corresponding simplex occurs as a prose-
word, with or without parallel poetical use (see material above).
Again, the latter alternative was found exemplified in *ymbsittend*
and *londbūend,* where the sense of the words in the prose records
is different from that in the poetical records. We can also observe
that, very often, the first member of a prose-cp. is a preposition,
as was, e. g., the case with *on-, ymbsittend, for-, oferhoȝiend,*
whereas the usual peculiarity in the case of poetical *end*-cpp. was
that the first member was a noun. In the prose-instances here
referred to, it is not, properly speaking, the agent-noun that is
compounded, but the primitive word itself. As regards the gloss-
instances belonging to cpp.-groups, cp. below.

In this connection, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few
words on a question that has been the subject of some discussion
recently. G. Binz,[1] in support of his theory that the second part
of the "Christ" is a translation, advances, among other things, the
view that "die Zusammensetzungen mit einem Part. Präs. im
zweiten Teil, wie *firenfremmend,*[2] *scyldwreccende unscomiende
womwyrcende* as. Sprachgebrauch geläufiger sind als dem ae."
To this opinion objections, however, were raised by G. H. Ge-

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[1] "Untersuchungen zum ae. sogenannten Christ" p. 181 ff. in Festschrift
zur 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Basel, 1907.

[2] The form as given by Binz, of course.

ROULD,[1] as well as by BINZ's reviewer, SCHÜCKING.[2] On this point
GEROULD writes, p. 4: "even though a statistical enumeration should
show a proportionately greater number in O. S., the fact would
remain that they are of very common occurrence in O. E. and
must be regarded as native English." He also supports his im-
pression on this point by giving a list of sixteen such words, picked
out from the first four letters of the alphabet. As far as cpp.
subst. in *-end* are concerned[3], the full list has been given above
and has confirmed the view held by SCHÜCKING and GEROULD in the
most definite way. And I even go so far as to find it most
doubtful whether O. S. can be shown to have more such forma-
tions than O. E., and whether it is not rather the other way about;
at least a glance at a glossary of Heliand, the O. S. piece of lite-
rature where such formations should be expected to be most
numerous, rather supports such a view. And as regards *sub-
stantival* words of this kind, I think such a state of things is even
impossible, since there are, in fact, so few subst. in *-and* in O. S.

The *end*-nouns to be found in poetry are, however, not exclu-
sively compound words, though the number of simple *end*-nouns
— simple *end*-nouns belonging to cp.-groups excepted — is, in-
deed, astonishingly small. Yet this phenomenon will scarcely be
due to any aversion on the part of O. E. poetical style to simple
substantival *end*-formations. On the contrary, there are, in fact,
a few cases where the *end*-suffix is just the poetical means for
expressing the agent, whereas prose uses another type.[4] In my
opinion, the smaller bulk and the character of O. E. poetical lite-
rature, as compared with that of prose, will afford explanation
enough. With the exception of kennings, ag.-n. were not so often
needed in poetry as in prose, and I have the impression that
what has been found to hold true for simple *end*-nouns will also
bear application to other agent-groups, though I cannot here anti-
cipate my investigations as to the other agent-forming suffixes.

The majority of the existing poetical *end*-nouns are, in fact,
so intimately associated with the specifically poetical, and more
particularly *epic, style* that there might, indeed, be reason for

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[1] Studies in the Christ, ESt. 41.

[2] Arch 120,209 ff.

[3] For app. ptcc. see CALLAWAY: the number of cpp. ptcc. in appositive use
will be found to be very great.

[4] See part II of my work.

giving them a name of their own from that very point of view;
for instance "epic or stylistic nom. ag.," a term thus signifying a
group which would not altogether coincide with the group of kenn-
ings, though it would nearly. For it is in the epic poems of the
8th century that we find most of the words in question, though
the stylistic resources of these poems are also imitated in the later
poems, cp. below p. 218. In the Riddles, we meet the same style
and the same kind of *end*-nouns. But in the gnomic and purely
lyric portions of O. E. poetry, *end*-nouns are not only absolutely
but also proportionately rarer, and those that occur are not so
exclusively kennings, but oftener ordinary ag.-n., though generally
not prose-words. In Exet., Cott., Fæ., Ruine and Mod., for in-
stance, poems comprising about 500 lines together, we meet —
except for the common *waldend, seyppend, nerȝend,* and *hǣlend* —
only three *end*-nouns, viz. *boldāȝende, dēmend, bētend,* with one
record each, and the stylistically similar words *rǣdhyᴄȝende* and
meðelhēȝende; and in Zaub., Runenl., Deor, Eaðwacer, Klage,
Bo., Wald., Jü. Ger., Seel., Reiml., *end*-nouns — except for the
cited designations of God — are entirely lacking.[1] Note also
something which is interesting from another point of view, viz.,
that the same thing is true for the lengthy poem Gen. B. An
epic poem in 627 verses would certainly not lack all *end*-nouns
except *waldend* (18×) and *neriend* (once), if it were originally
O. E., since the employment of these nouns proves to be such an
essential characteristic of O. E. epic style.

end-*nouns*   If now we turn to the numerous *end*-nouns belonging to prose,
in prose.   we must first recall their semological character: the bulk of them
were found to consist of nouns denoting the performer of an abstract
activity, the performer of some chiefly mental work (cp. above, p.
204). They did not express popular ideas; they expressed ideas
that were not originally English, but Latin (Christian), brought
to the Anglo-Saxons with Christianity. ·They were created to
form O. E. translations of L. words. This character of theirs will
also be found to be in complete agreement with their chrono-
logical appearance (cp. d., where further evidence will be given) and
their distribution through the different texts. In the laws and

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[1] What has been said here holds good not only for *end*-nouns, but for
"stylistic ag.-n." in general, thus for the majority of poetical ag.-n. formed by
means of O. E. *-end* or Teut. *-an*.

charters, certainly, we find some few words, such as *āჳend londbūend, londhæbbende, tēond, sēmend, æfterfylჳend, wealdend,* which are rather usual, especially *āჳend. tēond,* and *sēmend,* but in the Ags. Chron. we find only one single ag.-n in *-end,* viz., *būend,* used once. In the original prose literature of the Anglo-Saxons the *end*-nouns must be regarded as being, on the whole, very rare. The majority of them occur in Ælfred (though not in his laws), Ælfric, Wulfstan, and in the Bible, and the Homiletic literature of the 11th century.

Thus the semological and chronological character alike of these words justifies us in laying it down as a rule that O. E. *end*-nouns were never everyday words living on the lips of the people in colloquial speech — some law terms and some very few others perhaps excepted — but were exclusively literary words.

The very frequent occurrence of *end*-nouns in glosses is, as a matter of course, nothing to disprove their entirely literary character. The more or less learned glossators apprehended the *end*-nouns to be the specific O. E. means for the formation of (semologically colourless) agent-nouns from the corresponding verbs, the *end*-nouns being the ag.-n. most intimately associated with the verb. So, if there was not already another O. E. agent-formation in existence for a certain notion, the *end*-formation was the one that most naturally suggested itself for the translation of a L. ag.-n. Note also, for instance, how consistently Ælfric, when exemplifying L. nom. ag., in his grammatical work, renders them in O. E. by *end*-nouns (see above, *lufiend* p. 168, *hatiend* p. 184, and cp. *dǣlnimend* and *speliend* as grammatical terms). And besides we must not always, in glosses, regard the gloss as the actually existing Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the L. word, but only as an attempt at explaining it. Note, for instance, how an *end*-noun is used to *explain* the L. word, whereupon the actual O. E. designation for the same thing is also given, in L. S. 18,295: cræt and his *wissiჳend* þæt is *crætwisa.* There is no doubt that a very great number of the gloss-instances on record will have to be regarded in this light.

end-nouns in glosses.

d) **Productivity of the suffix.**

Before trying to ascertain the productivity of the suffix in O. E., it will prove necessary for us to cast a glance over the cor-

responding formations in the other Teutonic languages, as far as
this is possible without first-hand investigation.

In *Old Frisian*, the category seems to be very small, to judge
from HEUSER's glossary at least, where, except for *friōnd* and *fiand*,
only two *end*-nouns, viz., *werand* 'Gewährsmann' and *wīgand* 'war-
rior', are to be found. It may have been otherwise in earlier
times, of course, though in the oldest *historical* period of the
language, the suffix was evidently not productive, nay, was almost
altogether extinct.

The scarcity of records makes it also difficult to draw definite
conclusions as to the actual state of things in *Old Saxon*, but cer-
tainly participial subst. cannot be said to have been frequent.
HUCKO, p. 90, gives the following : *fīond, friund, hatand (hettend),
hēliand, lēriand, -līðand (lagu-, sēo-, wāg-), neriand,* and *waldand,*
and a few others were mentioned above, in connection with the
corresponding O. E. *end*-sb., such as *-berand (helm-, wāpun-),
rādand, wīgand,* and *erðbūandi.* All the words mentioned are
well known from O. E.

Old High German is the language in which the participial subst.
are rarest, which is the more noteworthy when the fairly large
bulk of the literature is taken into consideration. DIEMER[1] only gives
fiant, friunt, heilant, helfant, skepfant, waltant, and *wīgant* as
real sb., besides which BRAUNE[2] mentions *haltand* and *lantpūant*
and, with reserve, **sceozzant (sceotantero* gpl), all of which are
known to us in exact equivalents from the O. E. language. With
weak adjectival flexion the ptc. is often used substantivally, with
the force of an ag.-n., cp. DIEMER, p. 75. Cp. also SÜTTERLIN,
p. 27 f.

As regards the *Old Scandinavian* languages, FALK's treatment of
this group of nom. ag.[3] is too summary by far to enable the reader
to form an idea as to the occurrence and especially as to the charac-
ter of these words in O. N. What he tells us there is chiefly that,
"Nom. ag. dieser Art kommen in der altnord. Poesie in grosser
Menge vor und unterscheiden sich durch nichts von den vorher
behandelten Gruppen", and that "die anord. Prosa besitzt nur
wenige echte Nom. ag. dieser Klasse, besonders Gesetzausdrücke
wie *regandi, vísendr, seljandi, selendr* ok *kaupendr*".

[1] Substantivierung des Adjektivs im Althochdeutschen, p. 13.
[2] Ahd. Gr., § 236, anm. 1.
[3] PBB 14, pp. 41—43.

Falk's bald statement as to the great frequency in O. N. poetry of these agent-nouns may be compared with that of Sütterlin and the material adduced by him somewhat earlier, and also with the material produced by Jónsson[1] (often quoted above) some ten years later, and it will thus be corroborated. A glance at the collections of material referred to also makes it probable — a definite statement is not possible, since neither Sütterlin nor Jónsson give their examples with context — that the character of the Old Scand. ag.-n. in -endr was much the same as that of the O. E. end-nouns; many of the words are, in fact, common to both languages.

In **Gothic**, finally, we find the following nom. ag. in -ands:

allwaldands — Gr. παντοχράτως;
gardawaldands — οἰχο-δεσπότης;
bisitands, pl. 'neighbours' — οἱ περίοικοι;
fijands — ἐχθρός;
frijōnds, frijōndi — φίλος, φίλη;
fraujinōnds — δυσπότης;
daupjands — βαπτιστής;
gibands — δότης;
merjands 'Verkündiger, Prediger' — κήρυξ;
nasjands 'Saviour' — σωτήρ;
fraweitands 'avenger' — ἔχδιχος;
talzjands 'Lehrer' — ἐπιστάτης; cp. talzjan 'lehren'   παιδεύειν,
    νουθετεῖν;
midumōnds 'Mittler' — μεσίτης;
hausjands — ἀχούων (allai þai hausjandans is L. 2,47).[2]

The given materal shows abundantly that participial ag.-n. formed a productive and not unusual category in Gothic. Such words as daupjands, nasjands, etc. reveal themselves as new-formations by their sense, and such a word as fraujinōnds, likewise, by its form, the word being a derivative from the secondary verb fraujinōn. And we can observe also that it is not Greek ptcc. in

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[1] Det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog. p. 67 f.

[2] In this last case, however, the substantival character of hausjands is not quite certain, since the verb hausjan can also govern the gen. As a rule, certainly, hausjan only governs the "Gen. der Sache" and not the "Gen. der Person" (cp. Streitberg, Die got. Bibel, glossary, sub hausjan), but the construction of the pr. ptc. is, in this case, freer than that of the other forms.

substantival use that are rendered by Goth. substantival ptcc., but real Greek sb. The category evidently existed in Goth. (Teutonic), and by no means as a result of influence from the classical languages.

Participial nom. ag. thus occur in all Teut. languages, though in varying extent; as regards the frequency and productivity of the type, the different languages allow of arrangement in the following order, beginning with the language where the formations are rarest: OHG., OS., Goth., O. N., and O. E. It is a curious coincidence that, of the West Teutonic branch of the Teutonic family of languages, only one should have made use of and developed this type of word-formation to any great degree, when the type is comparatively so popular in the other, less nearly related, Teut. languages.

This circumstance leads us to the following explanation of the existing *end*-formations in O. E., an explanation which is also supported by the semological character and the chronological occurrence of the words. There evidently exist in O. E. two strata of *end*-nouns : one old group, inherited from prim. Teutonic times, and one young group of new-formations, made at different times during the Anglo-Saxon period. It will then be our duty to distinguish between the two groups, and for that reason we shall first have to ascertain which words were common to several Teut. languages.

In the tabular view below, I therefore give a survey of those participial ag.-n. that are found in several (or all) Teutonic languages. (See opposite page.)

Now, it is true that all the words comprised in the given tabular view are not, *eo ipso*, to be regarded as inherited from the common primitive Teut. language and as forming the original stock of participal agent-nouns; nor need all other words of this type be regarded, *eo ipso*, as new-formations in the different languages, though it cannot, in general, be proved conclusively for any of them that they are older than their first record in the language in question. But, in view of the scarcity of participial agent-nouns in the West Teutonic languages of the continent, as well as of the fact that all participial ag.-n. that do exist in these languages occur also in other Teut. languages, one is really tempted to regard the suffix as but slightly productive, if productive at

End-nouns common to several Teutonic languages.

Gothic	O. N.	O. H. G.	O. S.	O. Frs.	O. E.
fijands	fjande	fīant	fīund	fīand	fēond
frijōnds	frænde	friunt	friund	friōnd	frēond
-waldands	-valdandi	waldand	waldand		wealdend
	búandi	-pūant	-būandi		būend (-būend)
		wīgant	wīgand	wīgand	wīʒend
gibands	gefendr				ʒiefend
	haldendr	(haltant) [1]			healdend
	hjalpendr	helfant			helpend
nasjands			neriand		neriend
		heilant	hēliand		hǣlend
	hatendr		hatand		hettend
	liðendr		-līðand		līðend (līdend)
	-berendr		-berand		-berend
	ráðendr		rādand		rǣdend
	verjendr			werand	weriend [2]
bisitands					ymbsittend
talzjands [3]	tǽlendr				tǽlend
		skepfant			scieppend
			lēriand [4]		ǣlǣrend
	eigendr				āʒend
	festendr				endefǣstend
	fliúgendr				lyftflēoʒende
	-hyggjendr				-hycʒende
	kviðjendr				cweðend
	metendr				metend
	segjendr				secʒend
	yrkjendr				wyrcend
	dómendr				dēmend [5]

[1] Only given as weak adj. in substantival use by DIEMER, p. 75.

[2] Cp. French *garant*, Med. L. *guarandus*.

[3] Not identical with, only related to, the O. N. and O. E. word (cp. FEIST, *talzjan*).

[4] Cp., as regards sense, Goth. *merjands* and *talzjands*.

[5] Identical words in the case of which the meanings are quite different in the different languages in question and of such a nature as to indicate independent formation, such as O. E. *sellend* 'giver', O. N. *selendr* 'seller', are not counted.

all, in O. H. G. and O. S., and to consider the formations met with there as inherited from the common mother-tongue.[1]

At any rate, it is evident that such O. E. words as *fēond*, *frēond*, *wealdend*, *wīʒend*[2], *būend*, and *hettend*[3] are of primitive Teut. origin, certainly also *līðend*, *-berend* (and *-hyeʒende*), being solely or chiefly used as last elements of cpp. in all the different dialects alike in which they occur; perhaps also *rǣdend* and *ʒiefend* and a few others. Then the suffix seems also to have been used, of old, as a means of forming person-designating ag.-n. in juridical language, since this function is met with both in O. N. and the earliest O. E., though only in one case, viz., O. E. *āʒend*, O. N. *eigandi* in the same word.[4]

With such words as those mentioned as starting-points, the O. E. and O. N. languages have begun to make use of the suffix anew, though — at least as far as O. E. is concerned — this newly acquired productivity of the suffix was only a literary one (cp. above p. 211).

We also immediately find that the different semological types represented by O. E. *end*-nouns easily permit of being traced back to the stock of words inherited from the common Teutonic period.

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[1] A unique position is occupied by those few words denoting the Deity occurring in O. S. and (or) O. H. G., viz., *heilant (heliand)*, *neriand*, and *sceepfant*, which, for natural reasons, cannot go back to prim. Teut. If the suffix, as seems indeed to be the case, was not productive in these languages, these words are there rather difficult to account for. Of course, it is possible that *waltant (waldand)* might give rise to *scepfant*, etc., without the suffix attaining further productivity, especially since there existed substantival participial forms with adjectival flexion. e. g., *unsèr heilanto Christ*. Weissenbg. Cat. 84; *unsèr druhtin nerrendeo Christ*, Is. 28,12 (a subst. **neriant* never existed in O. H. G.); *euuiges leohtes sceffento* Murb. H. 4,1 (all quotations taken from Diemer, p. 75 ff.). But is also most tempting to regard these words as "translation-loans" from O. E., the O. E. words being brought to Germany by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. What is more natural than that the language of the missionaries should influence that of the converted on such principal points of the Christian terminology? The missionaries can scarcely have helped transforming such words as *hǣlend*, *neriend*, and *scyppend* to suit the foreign tongue.

[2] That *wīʒend* has no equivalent in O. N. is only natural, since also the corresponding verb is extinct there. As regards Goth., the verb *weihan* 'to fight' is rather rare, whereas *weihan* 'weihen' is fairly common: a subst. **weihands* would have been ambiguous.

[3] Note its form in O. E.; cp. p. 152.

[4] See above, p. 146.

Thus, for instance, the group of kennings doubtless starts from such words as (-)*wīʒend*, *līðend*, and -*berend*, originally not kennings but passing by degrees into such, and attracting other words. The large group of designations for the Deity is certainly to be traced back to *wealdend*, which word was originally used only of earthly rulers, but then, under the influence of L. *dominus*, came also to be used of the heavenly king and then brought in its train the whole series of similar formations from *seyppend*, *hǣlend*, etc., to (flōdes) *feriend* (of God) and (þȳstra) *stihtend* (of the devil).

Further, it may be of interest to ascertain how these words — the vast majority of which have just been shown to have been created in O. E. times, on the model of some few *end*-formations inherited from prim. Teut. —, distribute themselves over the different periods of O. E., or rather to ascertain whether the productivity of the type is to be referred to a particular period of O. E. or to the whole period. Some hints on this point were given above, p. 210 f.; the question deserves to be investigated a little more closely.

As regards poetical *end*-nouns, — the distinction between poetry and prose is quite necessary here, too — I deem it sufficient to unite all the words belonging to the pre-Ælfredian period into one chronological group. We find, then, the following *end*-nouns belonging to

Early O. E. Poetry:

berend-cpp.; *lācende*-cpp.; *līðend*-cpp.; *rǣdend* with cpp.; *sittende*-cpp.; *wīʒend*-cpp.; *wealdend*; *āʒende*-cpp.; *būend*-cpp. (: *ān* ~, *ceaster* ~, *eorð* ~, *feor* ~, *fold* ~, *ʒrund* ~, *hēr* ~, *lond* ~, *nēah* ~, *sund* ~, *þēod* ~); *fērend* with cpp.; *fremmende*-cpp. (*ǣ* ~, *firen* ~, *ʒūð* ~, *heaðo* ~, *mān* ~, *riht* ~, *til* ~); *hæbbende* with cpp.; *hettend*; *hyeʒende*-cpp. (*bealo* ~, *ʒlēaw* ~, *nīð* ~, *rǣd* ~, *wiðer* ~) *dryhtwuniʒende*; *scyld*-, *synwyrcend*; *æftercweðend*; *ealodrincende*; *widerfeohtend*; *ʒoddōnd*; *æfyllende*; *medelhēʒende*; *moldhrērende*; *ǣlǣrend*; (*tūdortēonde*); *scēotend*; *seicððend*; *bētend*; *brinʒend*; *dēmend*; *drǣfend*; *feormend*; *ʒēocend*; *myndʒiend*; *neriend*; *settend*; *wēmend*; *metend*; *rīdend*; *lǣdend* 'bringer'; *stihtend*; *leohtberend*; [*weʒfērend* (in prose early, in poetry not until Par Ps.)]; *drincende*; *āʒend*; *būend*; *healdend*; *helpend*; [*dǣlnimend* (in prose early, in poetry not until Par. Ps.)]; *rōwend*; *scieppend*; *wrecend*; *ēhtend*; *frēfriend*; *hǣlend*; *receend*; *rihtend*; *ʒescieldend*; *sellend*; *stīerend*; *weriend*.

The words enumerated form, indeed, the majority of the poetical *end*-nouns in O. E. If we turn to the late O. E. poems, we find there — I now give each poem separately — the following *end*-nouns occurring for the first time in the poem in question:

Metres

woruldbũend; wõhfremmende; woruldwunizende.

Past.

iezbũend.

Par. Ps.

nãhtfremmende; zramhyczende; wyreend, firenwyrceende; hearm-ewcðend; frumsprecend; oferhylmend; lædend 'excuser'; *peccend; trymmend; eardiend; [ālīesend,* which is, however, common in prose (Ps. gl.) even earlier]; *wierzend: [mõdblissiende; feozende; znornende].*

Sal.

lyftflēozende; lazuswimmende; feriend; winceende; spyriend.

Thus the newly-coined *end*-nouns in late O. E. are rather scarce, if Par. Ps. is excepted. In Metr. and Past. we recognize some old cp.-groups that are new-formations only as far as their first member is concerned: the *end*-noun (last element of the cp.) existed earlier. It is also noteworthy that the gifted author of Judith, who is very fond of participial nouns — 14 words with 22 records, besides *neriend, scyppend,* and *wealdend,* which occur together 6 times —, has not a single new-formation among these. "Der Autor war im Phrasen-schatz der altanglischen Poesie offenbar wohl bewandert"[1]; he has made correct and frequent use of the old stock of kennings in *-end,* but he has created no new ones. Yet it must not be inferred, from this circumstance, that new creations of *end*-nouns have entirely ceased in O. E., as far as poetry is concerned. In Sal. we find, in fact, some new-formations, even words of an entirely poetical character, viz., *lyftflēozende* and *lazuswimmende,* though in the case of these two words they were coined directly on the model of the old *end*-kenning immediately preceding *(zrundbũende).* This much can at least evidently be settled, that no new *cp.-groups* of the nature of kennings were created subsequently to the period of the great epics, except in cases where special induction was active;

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[1] BRANDL, Engl. Litt., p. 1091.

further that the *end*-nouns met with for the first time in late O. E. poetry, chiefly in Par. Ps., approach more closely to the prose-words in *-end*, i. e., they are either ptcc. that are only occasionally used as subst. (*fēozende, znornende* etc.), or they are designations of the Deity (*peccend, trymmend*, flōdes *feriend*), or they denote the performer of an action of an abstract nature (*hearmewedend, frumsprecend, oferhelmend, lædend, spyriend*), seldom an action rather of a physical kind (*byrzend*). The difference between the *end*-nouns of poetry and those of prose, which is very conspicuous in early English, thus declines towards the end of the period — a natural consequence of the decay of the markedly epic style.

It might have been useful to have given tabular views exhibiting the occurrence of each particular word in the different texts (poetry, prose, and glosses). As regards the poetical *end*-nouns, however, the above summary, along with the survey given above in my excursus, will go a long way towards affording such a schematic view. Again, to gloss-instances such weight can scarcely be attached in this case as to justify the troublesome work of compiling such tables. As regards the prose-records, on the other hand, I have deemed it of utility to have such a complete and easily surveyable tabular view of their occurrence, and so I have compiled the one given below, p. 220 ff., where I give also the total number of records in poetry and glosses, for those prose-words for which such records exist.

Tables, see next page.

If we divide the O. E. prose literature into 1) *Pre-Ælfredian*, 2) *Ælfredian*, 3) *9th and 10th centuries*, 4) *Ælfrician* (Ælfric and Wulfstan), and 5) *Post-Ælfrician*, and if we investigate the distribution of the first records of each *end*-noun among those different chronological groupings, we thus arrive at the following results:

1. Pre-Ælfredian.

āzend, būend, londhæbbende, tēond, æfterfylzend, belǣwend, ālīesend, lufiend, moniend, sēmend, timbrend.

2. Ælfredian.

onsittend, ymbsittend (cp. poetry), *wealdend* (cp. poetry), *wezfērend, hettend* (cp. poetry), *forhyczend, efenwyrcend, bebēodend, biddend, wiðfeohtend, ziefend, helpend* (cp. poetry), *dǣlnimend* (cp.

Tabular View of records

	Abt. Ill. Wi. Ine.	BtS = KGD a. 900	Ags. Chro. a. 900	Mart.	Greg., Boeth., Sol., Past., Or., Bd.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As. Eg. Air.	BtS = KGD 900—1100.	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
lēohtberend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
drincende	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wīndrincende	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
onsittend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
ymbsittend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
wealdend	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	3	4	1	3
āʒend	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
būend	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
eorðbūende	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
londbūend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
weʒlērend	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
londhæbbende	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
hettend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
forhycʒend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
oferhoʒiend	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
lǣrend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wyrcend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
efenwyrcend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
welwyrcend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
bebēodend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
biddend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
oncnāwend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
feohtend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wiðfeohtend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
ʒiefend	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
helpend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
dælnimend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
rōwend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
onspecend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
midspecend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
forestæppend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
swelʒend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
beswīcend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tēond	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	1	—
	9	—	1	—	36	3	—	8	5	2	7

of prose-words in -end.

Ælfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn.	Eccl. Inst., Poity. Egbert	Cnut	Homilies 1000—1100	Rnl.	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Mariæ	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	—
36	—	9	1	2	—	6	—	—	—	77	common	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	15	1
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	15
3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	37	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	8	11
4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	10	1	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	12	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	3	7
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	3
—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	8	5
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	1	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	4
—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	10	—	—
68	8	13	1	4	3	11	1	2	—	182	—	—

	Abl. Hl. Wi., Ine.	BCS = KCD a. 900	Ags. Chro. a. 900	Mart.	Greg. Boeth., Sol., Past., Or., Bd.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As., Ęg., Atr.	BCS = KCD 900–1100	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
	9	—	1	—	36	3	—	8	5	2	7
wrecend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āhniend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
bodiend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
costiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
costniend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cwielmend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
dǣlend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
unrihtdōnd	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
ēhtend	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
eardiend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
in-, oneardiend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
frēfr(i)end	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3
fultumiend	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
fylƺend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
æfterfylƺend	—	6	—	1	22	—	1	—	2	—	—
fylstend	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
fyrðriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
ƺīemend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
beƺīemend	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
unrihthǣmend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
hālsiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
heriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ƺehīerend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
hierwend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
hlystend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tōhlystend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
onhyrƺend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ƺe)efenlǣcend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
lǣnend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
lǣstend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
lǣwend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
belǣwend	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
edlēaniend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
līesend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	9	7	1	1	84	3	3	8	9	2	15

Ælfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn.	Eccl. Inst., Poity Ecgbert	Chul	Homilies 1000—1100	Rnl.	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Mariæ	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
68	8	13	1	4	3	11	1	2	—	182	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	7
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	9	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	5
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
3	3	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	13	3	—
1	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	11	—	26
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	5
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	3
84	14	17	2	5	3	17	1	2	—	287	—	—

	Abt. III., Wi., Inc.	BCS = KCD a. 900	Ags., Chro., a. 900	Mart.	Greg., Boeth., Sol., Past., Or., Bd.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As., Eg. Atr.	BCS = KCD 900—1100	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
	9	7	1	1	84	3	3	8	9	2	15
ālīesend	—	1	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	2
onlīesend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
lufiend	—	1	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
maniend	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
ʒemetiend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ʒe)mildsiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
mundiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
neriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
ednīwiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
bepǣcend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
raciend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
rihtraciend	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
rēafiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
berēafiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
reccend	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	1
rētend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
rihtend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
ofersceāwiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
scieldend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
forscrencend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
secʒend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
onsecʒend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
sellend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
ǣsellend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
sēmend	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
smēaʒend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
speliend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ʒe)edstaðeliend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
stīerend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
swefniend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
oferswīðend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tǣcend	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
tǣlend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
tīenend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tiliend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	10	9	1	2	124	4	3	8	11	3	21

Elfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn.	Eccl. Inst., Polity, Egbert	Cnut	Homilies 1000–1100	Rul.	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Mariæ	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
84	14	17	2	5	3	17	1	2	—	287	3	—
23	—	2	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	48	—	29
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	3
5	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	13	—	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	29
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	63	—
—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	6	—
1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	3
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	24
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	7
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	2	—
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3	—	10
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
139	14	24	3	7	3	28	1	5	—	420	—	—

	Abt. HL. Wi. Ine.	BCS = KCD a. 900	Ags. Chro. a. 900	Mart.	Greg., Boeth., Sol., Or., Bd. Past.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As, Eg., Alr.	BCS = KCD 900—1100	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
Total	10	9	1	2	124	4	3	8	11	3	21
timbriend	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
tȳdriend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
tyhtend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
weriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
beweriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āwēstend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āwierdend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wierȝend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wissiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wrēȝend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	10	9	1	3	129	4	3	8	11	3	21

poetry), *rōwend* (cp. poetry), *swelȝend, bodiend, cwielmend, ēhtend, cardiend, in* ~, *frēfriend, fultumiend, fylȝend, ȝehīerend, onhyrȝend, ȝeefenlǣcend, lǣstend, edlēaniend, ȝemetiend, raciend, riht* ~, *reccend, rihtend, secȝend, sellend, tȳdriend, tyhtend.*

3. 9th and 10th centuries.

drincende (Ru[1].)[1], *wīn* ~ (WS. Gosp.), *oferhoȝiend* (Cons. Mon.), *welwyrcend* (Blickl.), *forestæppend* (WS. G.), *costiend* (Blickl.), *costniend* (WS. G.), *dǣlend* (WS. G.), *unrihtdōnd* (Blickl.), *fylstend* (Cons. Mon.), *fyrðriend* (BCS A. D. 932), *beȝiemend* (Cons. Mon.), *unrihthǣmend* (Blickl.), *lǣnend* (WS. G.), *mundiend* (BCS A. D. 972), *scieldend* (Blickl.), *twēend* (Reg. Ben.), *tǣlend* (Blickl.), *neriend* (Blickl.).[1]

4. Ælfrician (including Wulfstan).

lēohtberend[1], *eorðbūende*[1], *lǣrend, wyrcend, frohtend, āhniend, ariend* (Wulfst.), *ȝiemend* (cp. *beȝiemend* above 3), *hālsiend, heri-*

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[1] Cp. poetry.

Ælfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn.	Eccl. Inst. Polity. Eҫhert	Cnut	Homilies 1000—1100	Rut.	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Maria	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
139	14	24	3	7	3	28	1	5	—	420	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	9
2	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	5	3	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	1	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	5
147	14	26	3	7	3	32	1	5	1	441	—	—

end, hierwend, hlystend. lǣwend (cp. belǣwend above 1), mildsiend, bepǣcend, rētend (Wulfst.), ofersċēawiʒend, forscrencend, ǣsellend (cp. sellend, above, 2), smēaʒend, speliend, edstaðeliend, stīerend (Wulfst.), swefniʒend, oferswīðend, tīenend, tyhtend, beweriend, wissiʒend, āwēstend (Wulfst.), wierʒend.

5. Post-Ælfrician.

londbūend (Eccl. Inst.)[1], onenāwend (Ags. Min.), midspecend (Ev. nic.) beswīcend (Ap. Tyr.), wrecend[1] (Eccl. Inst.), līesend (Disc. Sacr. Cr.; cp., however, āliesend early), cdnīwiend (Ags. Min.), rēafiend (BCS. A. D. 1006), berēafiend (Ap. Tyr.), onsecʒend (Conf. Ecgb.), tiliend (Mar. Ægypt.), āwierdend (Sermo Mar.).

We thus find that new end-nouns were coined in an unbroken succession throughout the whole of the O. E. period. Among the earliest words, the law-terms comprise a fairly large proportion, but even then other words occur. The strikingly great number of

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[1] Cp. poetry.

end-nouns met with in the works of Ælfred and Ælfric is not en-
tirely to be ascribed to the voluminous dimensions of these works,
when compared with the rest of O. E. literature; these writers use
end-nouns not only relatively, but also absolutely, oftener than
most other writers. No semological difference between the differ-
ent chronological strata of *end*-nouns is to be found.

It must be observed, however, that some of the words con-
sidered above as new-formations of a certain period or author
are, in fact, recorded even earlier, viz., in glosses. In the very
earliest gloss collections, viz., Ep., Erf. and Co., the *end*-nouns are
very few, but in the early VPs., they are already numerous. For
the sake of completeness the words occurring in these early glos-
saries may be cited separately.[1]

Ep., Erf. and Co.

contain only the following *end*-nouns: *beswīcend* (in prose not
until Ap. Tyr.), *fultumiend* (first prose record: Ælfred), *tyhtend*
(first prose-record Ælfric), *ferherȝend, ymbhrinȝend.*

VPs.

shows already a great number of participial ag.-n. We find
there: *āliesend, āspyrȝend, dǣlnimend, eardiend, ȝebēcnend, ȝced-
lēaniend, ȝcfrīȝend, ȝescieldend, hǣlend, mildsiend, sceppend, on-
stīȝend, upstīȝend* (the last three of which, as also *āspyrȝend,
eardiend,* and *ȝeedlēaniend,* in V. Hy.).

To sum up, if we view the whole bulk of O. E. *end*-nouns,
I think we can formulate the results obtained — as regards their
occurrence and productivity in O. E. — in the following way:

Even at the beginning of the O. E. period, there existed some
few *end*-nouns, in prose chiefly law terms (*āȝend, būend, tēond,
sēmend, wealdend*), in poetry chiefly formations only used as last
elements of cpp. and early assuming the character of kennings.
This latter type was at once turned to extensive use, and a very
large number of agential kennings in *-end,* chiefly cp. words,
developed in O. E. poetry. But in prose, too, especially in those
texts that were translated from Latin, a number of *end*-nouns

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[1] It also goes without saying that, of the *end*-nouns used by a late O. E.
author, many may be new-formations from his point of view, though occurring
earlier.

made their appearance, Ælfred increasing the stock of such words
considerably. The suffix became a frequently employed means
for the formation of words designating the Deity, and also of words
denoting performers of an action of a more abstract kind, the
translators of Latin works subsequent to Ælfred creating many a
new *end*-noun of this semological type. In the latest O. E. works,
the occurrence of *end*-nouns seems to have decreased somewhat,
and the number of new-formations is also somewhat smaller; I
then leave out of consideration glosses, in which *end*-nouns abound
down to the very last. Yet it is a characteristic feature of almost
all O. E. *end*-nouns that they were never words of everyday use
(colloquial character), but were exclusively literary words. This
is proved, 1), by their semological character, 2), by the character
of their records and also, 3), by the fact that only a very few
of them are recorded several times. If a few exceedingly common
words, such as *hælend, scieppend, wealdend*, and some few others
are excepted, the average number of records for each separate
word turns out to be incomparably smaller than the average num-
ber of records for the words of any other type of agential for-
mation. The *end*-nouns clearly bear the stamp of being occasional
formations. And so they flourish, above all, at a time when the
old means of forming ag.-n. were falling out of use, and others
were springing into existence, or rather, before another had had
time to reach its prime and to supersede the others, as it was
destined, ere long, to do. It will, I trust, be possible to arrive
at a better comprehension of the suffix dealt with above, when,
in the second part of my treatise, it can be viewed in its sur-
roundings, so to speak, in its struggle with those other means of
agent-formation.

Before leaving our suffix, after following it through the O. E.
period, it will be interesting just to glance at the state of things
in M. E., as far as *end*-nouns are concerned, in order to ascertain
the fortunes of the suffix in later times. We shall find, then, that
the suffix which had been so common to the very last in O. E.,
is scarcely to be found at all in M. E., and that the few instances
occurring are all met with in the very earliest records. Of course,
I have not turned to the M. E. sources themselves; I have only
looked through STRATMANN's dictionary, but the evidence afforded
by this work is doubtless correct, since we can observe, even

there, how new formations in -*ere* have been substituted for the old ag.-n. in -*end*.

As the M. E. cases of *end*-nouns are so rare, I have thought it appropriate to give a survey of them (according to Stratmann) along with the records.

I. Words inherited from O. E.

alesend : ure drihten and ure alesend iunne us allen þet Hom. I 125$_{12}$;[1] we schulen heonne vorð halden to iesu ȝodes sune moncun alesent Jul. 66[6] (ab. 1200).[2]

onelend : seraphim birninde oðer anhelend Hom. I 219[13].

leohtberind(e) (Lucifer) : þa wes þes tyendes hapes alder swiðe feir isceapen swa þat heo was ȝehoten leoht berinde Hom. I 219$_{15}$ (= Ælfc Hom. I 10$_{14}$).

delend(e) : ȝif non hine ne lufede, non to him ne come, ne delende nere of his eadinesse nof his merhðe Hom. I 217$_8$.

demend : hie shulen cnowen ure demendes wraþþe (of God) Hom. II 171[10].

dihtend : þe heuenliche þremnesse, fader and sune and holigost, is on almihti god, shuppende and wealdende and dihtende of alle shafte Hom. II 123[13].

helend : þat scolde beon ihaten Hælend Lay. 9144 Ms. Cal. (cp. Ms. Otho : he solde hote worlene Helare);[3] a þes helindes nomen 10197 Ms. Cal.[4] (lacking in Ms. Otho): ȝho shollde nemmnenn himm Jesus, þatt iss, Hælemnde Orm 2216:[5] Kath. 185; Hom. I 3[6]; 83[11] : hire sune habbe þene nome þet him wes iȝefen at circumcisiun þet wes helend (cp. what follows immediately after : and ȝef he hefde on his moder ibroken hire meidenhad, ne mihte nawiht brekere bon icloped helere 83[12]); Aner. Riwl. 112.[6]

|*sœliðende* is not a substantival form, as Stratmann gives it, only an adj., for note sæliðende men Lay. 7821].

[1] Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of XII & XIII centuries, ed. Morris, E. E. T. S. 29, 34, 53.

[2] St. Juliana, ed. O. Cockayne and E. Brook. London 1872. E. E. T. S. 51.

[3] Layamon's Brut.

[4] Stratmann gives, wrongly, 10191.

[5] The Ormulum by Ormin, ed. White-Holt. Oxford. 1878.

[6] The Ancren Riwle, ed. J. Morton. London, 1853.

sceppend, recorded in Hom. (see above, *dihtend,* and below, *wald-end*); Rel; Kath.; Aner. Riwl. 260: þe heoneuliche schuppende; Orm 346: and Shippennd allre shaffte.

[**weiferinde** is not a subst., as STRATMANN gives it, only an adj.: weiuerinde men Aner. Riwl. 350¹⁶; oðre wayuerindemen Ay. Inw. 39³.]¹

waldend: creatorem celi et terre scuppende and weldende of heouene and of orðe and of alle iscefte Hom. I 75₁₁; II 17₃; lauerd drihten crist. domes waldende Lay. 25568; 28205.

wiseʒend: king is ihaten rex, þet is wiseʒend for he sceal wissiau mid wisdome his folke Hom I 115¹³ (= XII Abus. 302₁₀).

3. Words not recorded in O. E.

ille-willand: be funden þi hand til al þine illewilland / and all þat þe hates find þi richt hand Early Engl. Ps. 20,9; 88,24; 105,10; in middes of þine ille-willand 109,2.²

waniand 'the waning moon, unlucky time': in þe waniand York XVI 37; waneand VIII 45.³

Thus *end*-nouns, in M. E. times, as was indicated above, p. 229, turn out to be extremely few and far between and to belong almost exclusively to the very earliest texts. They are restricted, on the whole, to some designations of the Deity, which are adopted from the O. E. originals, or, sometimes, from other O. E. texts, where they are common. Such is the case with *alesend, demend, dihtend, helend, sceppend, waldend, wiseʒend*. Of the few remaining words, *leohtberinde* goes back, in its one record, to an O. E. original; *onelend* is not quite certain as a subst., but compare O. E. *onælend* in glosses to Prudentius.⁴ Finally, as regards *delend*, it occurs in a piece that is a somewhat revised homily of Ælfric's, but the original has not that very sentence. Moreover, the M. E.

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¹ Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt ed. MORRIS. London 1866. E. E. T S. 23.

² Anglo-Saxon and Early Engl. Psalter. ed. STEVENSSON. London 1843. 47. (Surt. Soc.).

³ The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the day of Corpus Christi in the 14—16ᵗʰ cent., ed. Miss L. T. SMITH. Oxford. 1885. Not accessible to me.

⁴ See Schlutter, Anglia XXXI 534.

delend and the O. E. *dǣlend*[1] do not occur in the same sense, since
the M. E. word is used with the same meaning as O. E. *dǣlni-
mend*. Now, I suppose it is this O. E. *dǣlnimend* that has been
present in the author's mind, though he did not remember the
word exactly, but came to use *delend* in its stead.

Then we found two words that were not recorded at all in
O. E. *Ille-willand* reveals itself as a M. E. new-formation by its
first member. which is not an O. E. word. but cp., for the ptc.,
O. E. *welwillende*, common as an adj. in O. E. and occurring also
in M. E. *Waniand*, however. is a rather curious M. E. *end*-noun.
the more peculiar as it is only recorded from very late M. E. times
— I presuppose the correctness of the record as it is given by
STRATMANN. Without a doubt. the word existed previously to the
time of that record, since a new-formation cannot be possible at
a time when there no longer existed a single *end*-noun. as far at
least as the evidence afforded by dictionaries goes. Then it may
also be remembered that the expression *on wanizendum monan*
is recorded in O. E.; note, too, the instance adduced above. p. 82:
beoð fuhran on weaxendum monan ðonne *on wanizendum* Byrhtf.
327[22].

Substantival nom. ag. in -*end*, consequently. (with the excep-
tion of *wanizand*) do not live longer than down to the 13th cen-
tury, when they disappear from the English language. Is has been
shown that they do not form a productive type of agent-formation
in M. E.

The productivity of the suffix ceases with O. E.

Why, then, did our suffix not retain its productivity, or. at
least. hold its ground? The causes of the actual development are.
in fact. quite obvious. We need not refer to the fact, often men-
tioned above, that *end*-nouns were always literary, not colloquial.
words, often standing side by side with words formed by means of
suffixes of a more popular type, and whose power was constantly
increasing in the spoken language. though. of course. that may have
been a contributory factor. We need only indicate the character
of *end*-nouns as being pr. ptc. used as substantives and inti-

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[1] Occurs only once (WS. Gosp.). as a translation of L. divisor, see above
p. 162.

mately associated with the participial form of the verb. When, then, the participial forms in -*ende* became extinct, being superseded by forms in -*ing*, the corresponding nouns followed them. But nomina agentis in -*ing* were not called into existence, nouns in -*ing* having existed even previously to the time of the extinction of substantival *end*-agents, but representing, in a popular and productive way, another semological category, viz., nomina actionis.

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Norðleod = Norðleoda laga. ed. Liebermann, Ges. d. Ags., p. 458 ff.

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    p. 380 ff.

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    p. 355 ff. Oxford 1900.

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    tanea Anglosaxonica. Hafniae 1835.

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Wi. = Wihtræd, ed. Liebermann, Ges. d. Ags., p. 12 ff.

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C. Glosses.

Abbo gl. ed. Zupitza, ZfdA 31.1 ff.

Addit. Ms., ed. Kluge, Anglia 8,448 ff.

Ælfc Coll., ed. Wright-Wülker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies 89 ff.

Ælfc gl.. ed. Zupitza, Ælfric's Grammatik u. Glossar p. 297 ff.

Ælfc voc., ed. Wr.-W., Ags. Vocabularies, p. 104 ff.

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De Virginate, cp. Bouterwek, ZfdA. 9.401 ff. (1853).

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delberg 1909.

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16

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Academy.

Am JPh = American Journal of Philology.

Anglia.

Anglia Beibl. = Beiblatt zur Anglia.

AfdA. = Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum.

Arch. = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.

Ark., Arkiv = Arkiv för nordisk filologi.

Dt. Ltz. = Deutsche Literaturzeitung.

ESt. = Englische Studien.

Germania.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

JEGPh = Journal of English and Germanic Philology.

KZ. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lit. Cbl. = Literarisches Centralblatt.

Lit. bl. = Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.

MLN. = Modern Language Notes.

PBB. = Paul & Braune, Beiträge etc.

Publ.MLAA. = Publication of modern Language Association of America.

W. u. S. = Wörter und Sachen.

ZfdA. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.

ZfdPh. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.

ZfdW. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung.

Addenda & Corrigenda.

Page   6, l. 13 from foot. *read*: exercising.

 »   13, » 4   »   »   » : in a certain.

 »   14. » 8   » top, » : the last two are - - - or express.

 »   21, » 13   »   »   » : present-tense.

     50, » 2   »   » Another record is Br. gl. 296²³: brittanice *hæwenydele*.

     56, » 10   » foot. Note the record Br. gl. 296²: bobonica *hratele*.

     61, » 13 ff. Professor Björkman, without objecting to my view of the vowel, calls my attention to the treatise by Boll in Bonner Beiträge 15,₄₃ f., where some few exceptional cases of *y* for *i* in Harl. gl. are mentioned.

 »   65, » 3 from top, *read: sēamestre.* — (Vowel-length is always marked, except in the quotation of records; yet a few inconsistencies like the one pointed out here will be found in my treatise, though I hope they will not occur in words where they are likely to cause any confusion.)

 »   86, » 14 from foot, *read*: Cp. *hearmcweðend.*

 »   86, » 12   »   »   » : Cp. *wiðerſeohtend.*

 »   87, » 16   » top, » : Cp. *oferhelmend.*

 »   89, » 11   »   »   » : forweorone, ʒeleorene.

 »   89, » 14   » foot, » : wile.

 »   92, » 16   »   »   » : Edʒ. 4.

 »   93, » 7   »   »   » : Cart. Sax. II 199¹².

 »   95, » 11   » top, » : lindhæbbende.

 »   95, » 14   » foot, » : wiðerhycʒende.

 » 103, foot-note 1, *read*: See p. 93.

 » 112,   »   4, l. 8 from foot, *read: participium.*

 » 112,   »   4, » 7   »   »   » : *virtutis mihte.*

 » 113, l. 8 from top, *read*: 114,₅.

 » 114, » 11   » foot, » : Nap. gl. 1,₂₂₀₉.

 » 136, foot-note 2, l. 1, » : 'aulam administrantes'.

 » 181, l. 15 from foot, » : unʒerisne.

 » 184, » 14   »   »   » : *synnehierend.*

 » 190, » 10   » top, » : worship'.

 » 190, » 11   »   »   » : meaning.

 » 198, » 11   »   »   » : b. **Designations** etc.

 » 201, » 10   » foot, » : above, see pp. 175 f., 197.

 » 203, » 5   » top, » : *weʒferenda.*

 » 232, » 16   » foot, » : down to the end of the 13th century.
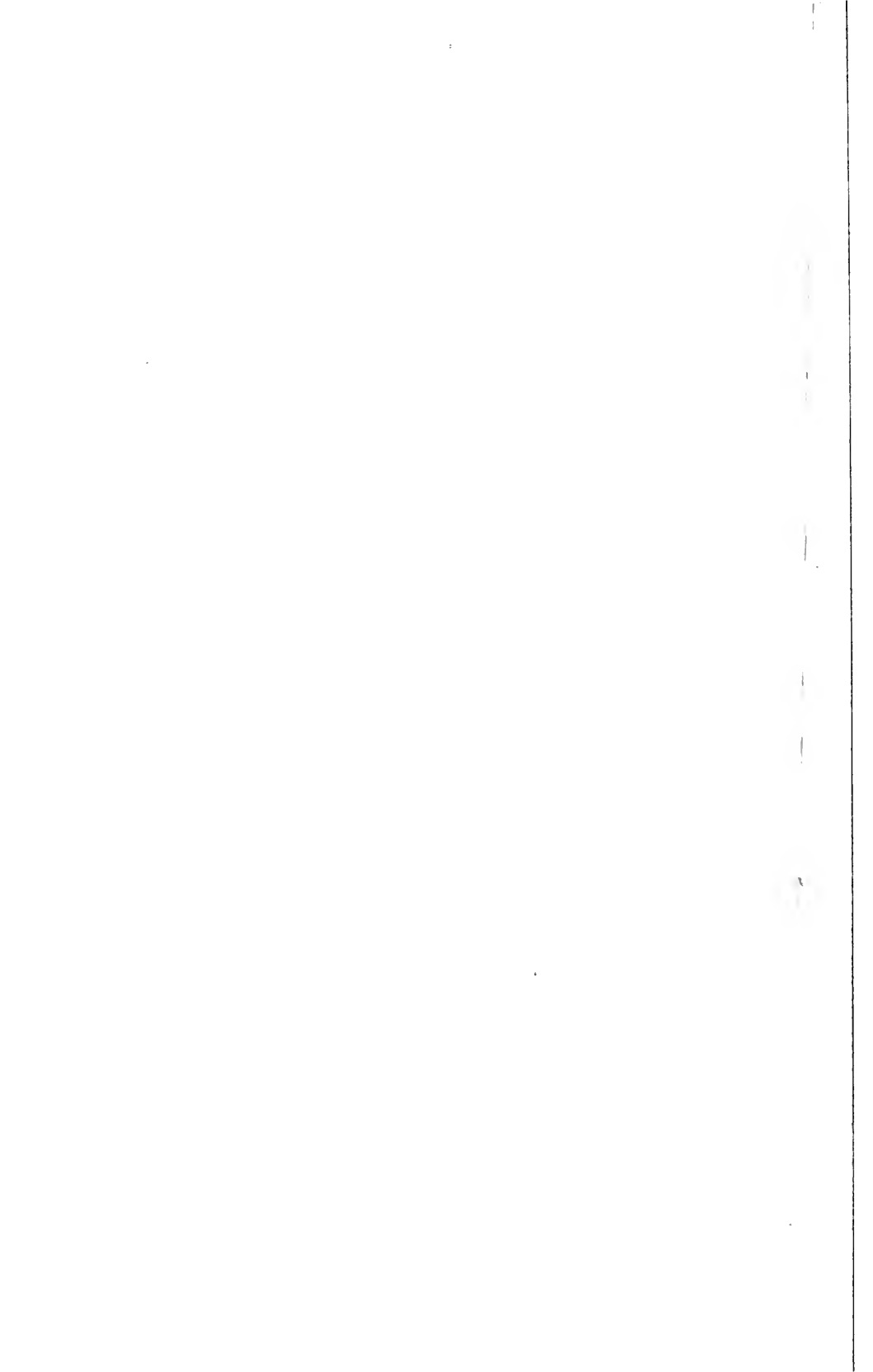
MEDDELANDEN FRÅN NORDISKA SEMINARIET

UTGIFNA

AF

ADOLF NOREEN.

9